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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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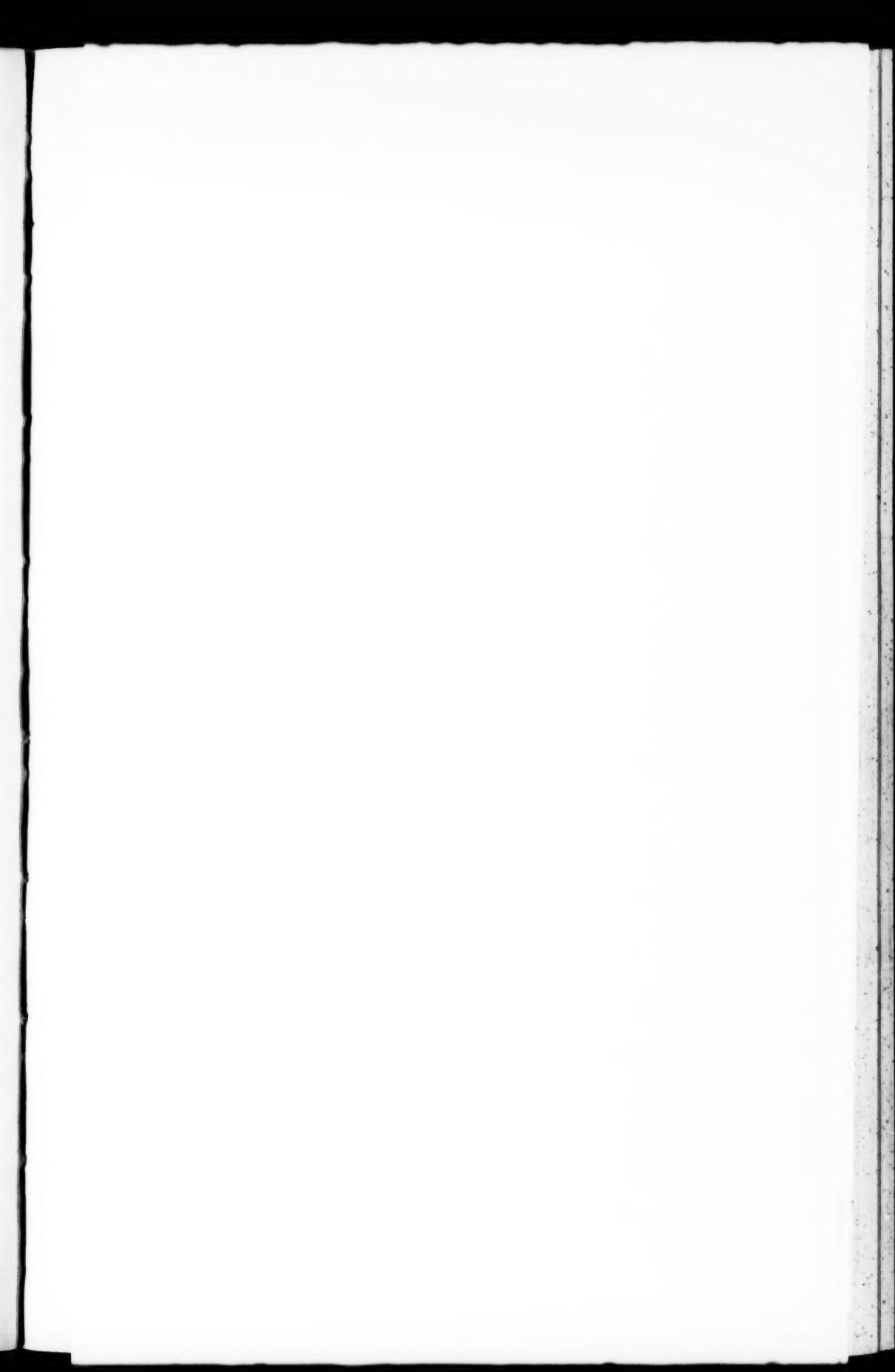
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No. 2

THE REVEREND SAMUEL PETERS, M.A.,

MISSIONARY AT HEBRON, CONNECTICUT, 1760-1774

By Charles Mampoleng, M.A.

THE first town in the Connecticut colony to be named from the Bible was the tiny rural community of Hebron, so named by the Connecticut General Court in 1707, three years after its settlement. It developed very slowly under the proprietorship of the Saybrook Legatees, though settlers were invited from Long Island and the lower Connecticut region. A petition to the General Court in 1708 mentioned that only nine families were living at Hebron, and it was not till 1716 that the same body authorized the settling of a Congregational minister in that section of Tolland County. A native of Norwich and graduate of Yale in 1710, the Rev. John Bliss was accordingly ordained on November 19, 1717, and settled in Hebron. It was not long before charges of intemperance were brought against him, but the South Consociation of Hartford on November 16, 1731, found him not guilty of excessive drinking at a funeral, taking into account his previous sobriety and "considering the weather."

Part of the congregation decided in 1734 that a new meeting house ought to be built in the center of the town, "the plain of Mamre." As opposition to the plan developed, Bliss asked a dismission, which was granted, while two factions prepared for a bitter conflict over the matter. The "North" party, intent upon building the meeting house on top of a hill half a mile toward the north, chose Bliss as their teacher. He was soon indicted, found guilty, and fined for holding schismatic meetings in his home. The powerful "South" group held to the original site, and when a fanatic, Moses Hutchinson, Jr., set fire to the building, they laid taxes for a new edifice and the salary

of the Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy, their new teacher. Matters soon came to a startling conclusion, for while those who refused to pay the added rates were jailed, about twenty families joined with Bliss in 1735 in declaring for the Church of England. Bliss himself deeded the land atop the hill for S. Peter's Church, an edifice not completed till 1766. An invitation was extended to the Anglican missionary at New London, the elder Rev. Samuel Seabury, to take charge of the new parish. His visits to Hebron gained Seabury a £10 bounty, for he spent much time instructing the people, and at a Eucharist on August 1, 1736, there were fourteen communicants.

The converted Mr. Bliss acted as lay reader until his death at the age of fifty-two, on February 1, 1742, the eve of his departure for London and Holy Orders. From that time on, the Church in Hebron experienced the most discouraging setbacks, as each successive candidate sent abroad for ordination did not return. In order to provide the Gospel and an orthodox clergy for the English colonies in America, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was founded in 1701. This society appointed recommended ordinands to mission posts, subsidized either wholly or in part by the organization. It was to this society that the distinguished convert, Dr. Samuel Johnson of Stratford, wrote:

"Indeed ministers are very much wanted in several places, particularly at Symsbury and Hebron, in which last place Mr. Dean is very acceptable as reader and I beg the Society will be pleased to have it on their thoughts to provide for him in due time."¹

The congregation sent Barzillai Dean² abroad and he was ordained on November 21, 1745. Leaving shortly thereafter for home, he was unfortunately lost at sea early in the following year. For the ensuing six years the parish was under the nominal care of the Rev. Ebenezer Punderson,³ an itinerant missionary who preached and administered the sacraments at intervals.

As the years went by, the parish grew stronger till in 1747 the General Assembly divided the town into four ecclesiastical societies, those of Gilead, Andover, Marlborough and Hebron. While each of these four groups settled a minister of its own, S. Peter's Church stood isolated in the center of the town, without a resident pastor. Seabury's successor at New London was the Rev. Matthew Graves, an

¹Johnson to S. P. G., October 5, 1742 (H. W. Schneider, "Samuel Johnson," III, 232).

²Rev. Barzillai Dean (1714-46), Yale 1737; made first communion in August, 1735, at Stratford Church; appointed itinerant missionary for Derby and Waterbury.

³Rev. Ebenezer Punderson (1710-80), Yale 1726; Holy Orders 1734; at Hebron 1746-1752; at New Haven 1753-62; at Rye, N. Y., 1762-80.

Englishman who was instructed to visit Hebron occasionally, but his authority was denied by the people. Graves was nevertheless determined that "as long as I solely am intrusted with Hebron, I will study to promote their good."⁴ There is, however, the sworn testimony of two Hebronites who claimed Graves was not sure of his authority, but

"turning to a man he said he would give him leave to tuck of his ear if he did not get authority over Hebron Church in six months."⁵

His severe views often bringing him into collision with the people, Graves soon found a popular adversary in the person of Jonathan Colton. A Yale graduate of 1745, Colton began his career as lay reader at Hebron in 1748, at the age of twenty-two.

Graves repeatedly complained to the Bishop of London, while Dr. Henry Caner of King's Chapel in Boston, heartily commended Colton when that young man set out for ordination.⁶ That there was a good bit of hard feeling can be understood from the sworn testimonies, such as that wherein Colton was said to have threatened to break Graves' head⁷ if he dared enter Hebron Church again. Graves felt it his duty to "prevent ye Encrease of False Prophets," and protested the ordination on the ground that Colton officiated contrary to Graves' wishes, preached his own sermons rather than the homilies, that he held private parish meetings and produced perjured testimony⁸ in a law suit. Colton, however, was accorded ordination in 1752 but never entered upon the duties of his mission, for he died of smallpox on the voyage home. Although Graves' charges had greatly offended the Bishop of London, he was convinced of his own integrity and having prayed for a new heart for Colton, he could easily believe "my prayers were heard and hope he dyed in ye Love of God."⁹

Convinced that the struggling mission was not receiving adequate care, Dr. Johnson wrote to the Society on March 25, 1754, that

"I also extremely pity poor Hebron, that good people are yet

⁴Graves to Johnson, June 18, 1748 (Schneider, "Johnson," I, 131). Rev. Matthew Graves (—1780) from England; at New London 1747-79; beaten in pulpit for using royal prayers during the Revolution; he spurned an offer made on November 14, 1778, to reopen the church if he would omit the prayers; was allowed to go to New York 1779; died of apoplexy on April 5, 1780, while officiating in S. George's Chapel.

⁵Affidavit of John Peters and Nathan Rowles, January 31, 1751 (Roger Wolcott Papers in Connecticut Historical Society Collections, v, 16).

⁶Caner to London, October 15, 1751 (Fulham Palace Transcripts, in Library of Congress).

⁷Affidavit of Reuben Hutchinson, April 4, 1754 (Fulham Trans.).

⁸Graves to London, December 23, 1754 (Fulham Trans.).

⁹Graves to London, May 29, 1754 (Fulham Trans.).

destitute and no candidate appears to go for them. I wish some encouragement could be given them."

A third candidate finally did attempt the arduous trip abroad, being James Usher, the local catechist. The son of the missionary at Bristol, Rhode Island, young Usher graduated from Yale in 1753 at the age of twenty, only to die of smallpox four years later. Captured on the high seas by the French, he was imprisoned in a Bayonne castle, where he contracted the fatal malady. Great were the lamentations occasioned by this distressing situation, but soon the Hebron Church was heartened, for a young man who had been

"brought up to the law and was extremely popular in the country—on a sudden—forsook the bright example of his pious republican ancestors, repaired to England, and renouncing the independent faith, received holy ordination from the Lord Bishop of London."¹⁰

Samuel Peters, the tenth child of John and Mary Peters, was born on December 1, 1735, in Hebron. Descended from Andrew Peeters,¹¹ who had landed in Boston in 1659 and later established his family at Andover, Massachusetts, the future clergyman was to invent a more distinguished ancestry. His father, John, who had married in 1717, established a line of the Peters family in Connecticut soon after his marriage. John Peters built a house in Hebron in 1740 and was a Churchman, being on the 1745 Church of England tax list. The infant Anglican society in the town was cheered in 1746 by John Peters' deeding thirty acres¹² for a glebe to a committee headed by the Rev. Ebenezer Punderson, itinerant missionary in the colony. The early education of Samuel Peters was acquired in the Hebron Grammar School, while in 1757 he emerged from Yale College with his bachelor's degree. While Samuel was still in college his father died and upon the December 2, 1754, probate of his will, John Peters was found to have bequeathed £1000 to his son Samuel.

Finding the desire to help "the poor and unfortunate of Hebron" most compelling, the modest Peters declared his intention to seek Holy Orders, with the parish vestry hastily petitioning the Society on September 29, 1758. Rehearsing the good features of the mission, the vestry gave its bond that its contribution of £30 would be regu-

¹⁰Peters "History of Jonathan Trumbull" (*Political Magazine*, January, 1781.)

¹¹Andrew Peeters (1634-1713) m. 1659 Mercy Beamsley (1637-1726) had 7 children; William Peters (1672-96), son of Andrew and Mercy, m. 1694 Margaret Russe, had 1 child; John Peters (1695-1754), son of William and Margaret, m. 1717 Mary Marks (1698-1784) had 10 children.

¹²Deed of John Peters, September 25, 1746 (*Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Transcripts in Library of Congress*).

larly paid to the resident missionary. At the Society's meeting of February 23, 1759, it was agreed that dependent upon ordination, Peters would be appointed to the post at Taunton, with a £20 subsidy. Late in 1758 Peters set out for London, armed with recommendations, including one from the Rev. Matthew Graves, dated September 28, 1758, urging his friend's appointment. The rather vague commendation given by Dr. Samuel Johnson on October 25th reflected the college president's impression of the candidate, rather than personal knowledge. In later Peters writings, the extravagant assertion was made that, besides numerous testimonials addressed to important English personages, Peters carried one from Johnson at King's College, "where Mr. Peters had been a tutor."¹³ Actually Peters did not tutor in New York, nor did he ever study theology with Johnson, as has been supposed.

Upon his arrival in London, the bewildered colonial rustic was deeply impressed with that metropolis and evinced great awe of ecclesiastical personages, giving occasion for Archbishop Secker's anecdote:

"When Mr. Peters from Hebron in Connecticut waited on his Grace with his letters on his first arrival in England, on seeing him enter the Room with 2 servants bearing his Train, etc., Peters was overwhelmed with such an Awe that he was unable to speak, so much as to answer any common Question. The Archbishop observing his Confusion, seated him in a chair by his side and spoke to him words to this Effect, 'Mr. P. you have come from New England and I suppose you look upon an Archbishop to be something more than human; but I am as much a mortal Creature as yourself and you have no reasons to be awed at my Presence'—putting his Hand on Peters' knee at the same time in the most familiar Manner, and even patting his cheek. This kindness and condescension had the intended effect; Mr. P. soon recovered the Use of his Tongue and Senses; and ever afterwards conversed with his Grace with great Ease and Freedom."¹⁴

On March 11, 1759, the Bishop of Chester, acting for the Bishop of London, ordained Peters a Deacon, whereupon the ordinand fell deathly ill with smallpox, an ordeal which left him noticeably pock-marked. During his confinement, Peters was attended by the Archbishop's personal physician, the prelate paying the seventy-five guineas fee. Having little cash at hand, Peters begged the Society's

¹³Peters *"Early History of S. Peter's Church,"* edited by W. H. Bell (Conn. State Lib.).

¹⁴Chandler, T. B., *Manuscript Diary* (April 11, 1777) in *General Theological Seminary Library*.

aid, with the result that on May 18, 1759, it was voted to give him £20 for "expenses in the smallpox."

Once upon his feet again, Peters was ordained a Priest on August 25th by the Bishop of London. The Bishop generously ordered Peters to preach his first sermon in the Church of St. Sepulchre in London, where Hugh Peters, his reputed "great uncle," had preached. Refusing the offer of a London living, Peters accepted the £19.7.6 royal bounty given all American ordinands appointed missionaries of the Society, and set out for his native shores. Shortly after his arrival, Peters married Hannah Owen of Hebron, but after bearing him three children, alas,

"my once agreeable consort was taken sick soon after Christmas 1764 with a consumption & so continued until ye 25 of Octobr last & then changed this contending world for one far better, of which same disease died one of my children—kind Providence has left me one little child to help me bear my tryals."¹⁵

His second wife, Abigail Gilbert, died on July 14, 1769, only twenty days after the wedding, departing this life

"by an Illness termed by the Physicians an improper Chorea Sonata Viti, after 5 days illness to the inexpressible Grief of her Consort, Parents . . ."¹⁶

The young parson was quite acceptable to his clerical neighbor Graves, for on December 13, 1760, that missionary reported that Peters was painstaking and well behaved. In his own first report to the Society, Peters rehearsed the difficulties of consolidating his parish amid the open opposition, with

"the people belonging to the Church at Hebron seem religiously attentive to my instructions—the dissenters tho very spiteful at my coming home, doing all they could to destroy my Character, taking many groveling ways to prevent my service."¹⁷

Not content to work at home with his thirty-one families, Peters traveled about, stopping at Taunton, Sharon, Norwich, Simsbury, Middletown, Bolton and Glassenbury. These efforts were rewarded

¹⁵Peters to S. P. G., May 12, 1766 (*Francis L. Hawks Transcripts, in New York Historical Society*). Hannah Owen (1740-65) had three daughters: Hannah (December 19, 1760-March 2, 1761); the only survivor, Hannah Delvena (January 2, 1762-September 20, 1845), married 1786 to Captain William Jarvis, later Secretary of Ontario; Elizabeth (January 19, 1764-August 27, 1765).

¹⁶Hartford Courant, July 24, 1769.

¹⁷Peters to S. P. G., April 13, 1761 (*Libr. Congress*).

when the Society at its meeting of October 1, 1761, voted Peters a £10 gratuity and recommended an increase in salary. Further notice was given Peters, when at the June 3, 1761, commencement of King's College in New York, Peters was admitted a Master of Arts.¹⁸ In September, 1764, he was called upon to preach the local election sermon, a tribute to conscientiously prepared pulpit utterances. The same missionary zeal flamed high in Peters during his Hebron incumbency, for in the first years he traveled some two thousand miles, ministering and preaching

"willingly for the prospect before me, and am willing to persevere and will, as long as my health and purse will permit, the former being very high, the latter very low."¹⁹

As compensation, the Society on April 15, 1763, raised his stipend to £30, adding a £20 gratuity.

Subscriptions toward completing the church at Hebron steadily rolled in, while occasionally Peters could boast of obtaining legacies. A bequest long due, owing to the machinations of grasping dissenters,²⁰ was settled in 1764, while in the following year a Dr. Samuel Shipman of Hebron left a property legacy²¹ of some size. The church, measuring 38 feet by 30 feet, was completed in 1766, when the parish numbered fifty-six families, despite the opposition teachings that

"the Church is the Sinagogue of Satan & if you have a mind to go to Hell—go to Church.—thus I live to fight Spiritual wickedness in high Places & by the Goodness & Veracity of God, the Gates of Hell have not prevailed against his Church."²²

Hostile civil authorities took pleasure in embarrassing Churchmen, and on Easter Day, 1765, a public fast was appointed, which the Hebron Churchmen ignored, in the absence of Peters. As a result eight members were cited for contempt, with Peters observing that "we are stigmatized if we observe not our own Days & punished if we do," going on to publicly inquire in the *Courant* for May 26, 1769:

"The Rubrick of the Church of England confirmed by act of Parliament enjoins me to rejoice and be exceeding glad upon Sundays, Christmas and Holy Days. I cannot serve two masters, of the twain whom shall I serve?"

¹⁸*Matricula of King's College* (Schneider, "Johnson," IV, 248).

¹⁹Peters to S. P. G., December 24, 1762 (*Libr. Congress*).

²⁰Peters: "A Death-Bed Discovery of Bostonian Virtue and Honesty" (*Political Magazine*, October, 1781).

²¹Peters to S. P. G., March 15, 1765 (*Libr. Congress*).

²²Peters to S. P. G., June 26, 1771 (*Libr. Congress*).

The familiar events relating to the so-called Stamp Act passed by Parliament in 1763 need not be dwelt upon, but the loyal submission of Anglicans in New England generally to a distasteful measure was notable. In Hebron, under the direction of Priest Peters, the Churchmen

"shunnd any connections & openly condemned them, declaring they feared God & the King more than all the threats of his rebellious gang, whose furious fanatic motions gave us grounds to say we were in perils among false brethren. It, however, has this good consequence; the storm being over, those changelings have room to reflect & as boldly now applaud us for our bold stand as they condemned us heretofore."²³

It will be recalled that a prosperous New Haven lawyer, Jared Ingersoll, came home as provincial Stamp Master, only to be forcibly convinced that his resignation of the post on September 19, 1765, was imperative. While this successful intimidation was progressing at Wethersfield, a mob in Lebanon joyously set up effigies of the devil, Mr. Grenville and Mr. Ingersoll. As the figures were hung, fires were built and the sport went on till midnight, when it was suggested that "Ingersoll" be buried in Hebron with Parson Peters officiating. Peters spoiled the fun by refusing to be made sport of or to bury a dissenter.²⁴ Armed protection was necessary for Peters then, though he scornfully wrote:

"The peasantry I have often heard say that they had rather (notwithstanding their religious tenets are bent upon John Calvin's wheel) be under the government of the Pretender, the French, Dutch or Spanish Monarchies than to submit to acts of a British Parliament or an American Episcopate—the fanatic mob will judge my life too cheap a victim to pacify their belching stomachs."²⁵

On February 28, 1770, the New York Council decided to form a new county, Gloucester, north of Cumberland County in New Hampshire, to provide protection for pioneer settlers. This new county attracted the roving eye of Peters, who at the age of thirty-five, believed the end of his earthly days²⁶ was soon at hand. Dissatisfied with Hebron's neglect of its ecclesiastical obligations, Peters sought a

²³Peters to S. P. G., December 26, 1766 (Hawks).

²⁴Peters: "General History of Connecticut" (1877 ed.), p. 233 note.

²⁵Peters to S. P. G., June 25, 1768 (Hawks). Peters to S. P. G., March 25, 1767 (Hawks)—"I am at this time only able to say of my Native Land it is the Bowels of Contention, where Faction is State Policy and every Religion—where little Conventicles are plodding and as captious as a little Kirk—each guided by their different Gods and to compleat my ancient news, Oliver is risen from the dead, or was a convict and so transported over here—unfortunate America."

²⁶Peters to S. P. G., June 26, 1770 (Libr. Congress).

transfer to another post, while it was reported to the Society that Peters had gone on to a better living²⁷ after preaching a farewell sermon in Hebron. Nothing came of this casting about, for in 1770 the small society at Hartford was added to his care. Peters had often preached to the poor farmer folk in the local courthouse and the first Eucharist was celebrated on March 2, 1766. The first funeral service took place on June 9, 1766, for the victim of an explosion at the school-house celebration of the Stamp Act Repeal.

The Anglican clergy in the colony met in regular conventions, and on June 5, 1765, Hebron was the convention town. Peters was a signatory of the petition drawn up at that time, urging the establishment of a colonial episcopate. At the Litchfield convention of June 13, 1770, the sermon was preached by Peters and later published as Peters made a strong bid for allegiance to the Crown. This convention authorized a missionary tour along the Connecticut River as previously proposed²⁸ by Peters, and he soon set out to preach to the scattered frontiersmen along both sides of the river. Proceeding west, Peters crossed the Green Mountains and finally reached Fort Miller on the Hudson River, then followed the Mohawk River, preaching at Schenectady, Albany, etc., before crossing Connecticut on the way home, having covered eight hundred miles.

Peters found time, however, to marry Mary Birdseye, the twenty-three-year-old daughter of a Stratford farmer, on April 23, 1773. But this marital bliss was terminated on June 16, 1774, when his third wife died, eleven days after the birth of a son, William Birdseye Peters. Having contracted an advantageous marriage, Peters again sought a transfer²⁹ to a more genteel parish, such as that of Portsmouth in New Hampshire, the incumbent having died on June 10, 1773. But great was Peters' disappointment when on June 17, 1774, the Society refused to transfer him, but calling for an account of the Hebronites' shortcomings concerning the glebe. The neglect shown by the parish did not enter into the financial considerations of Peters, for he was a gentleman of property, despite disparaging propaganda fostered by the Whig adherents. It was, however, admitted by friend and foe that Peters did live in some splendor,³⁰ while his charity and hospitality were widely appreciated. He personally managed an estate of a thousand well cultivated acres in Hebron, with seven dwellings upon them, nine barns, five cowhouses, three cider mills, a dairy house, smoke house, etc., the buildings being valued at £2960.

²⁷*Graves to S. P. G., April 28, 1771 (S. P. G. Journal of November 15, 1771).*

²⁸*Peters to S. P. G., January 1, 1770 (Libr. Congress).*

²⁹*Peters to S. P. G., September 10, 1773 (Libr. Congress).*

³⁰*Wattles to Thorp, July 24, 1783 (Public Record Office, Audit Office 13/42, photostat in Libr. Congress).*

In order to give a comprehensive view of Peters' establishment as of August, 1774, a few items, taken from his sworn schedule to the Loyalist Claims Commission³¹ are here given, with their currency values as set forth:

<i>Household Furniture</i> total £1248.		24 Hay Rakes	1.16
1 Feather Bed & Suit	£ 40.	4 Iron Rakes	1.
3 Feather Beds as above	120.	1 Crosscut Saw, hand	
10 " " @ £20.	200.	saws	2.10
4 " " @ £10.	40.	10 Scythes, sickles	10.
4 Looking Glasses	36.	Chizils, augurs,	
12 " "	18.	wedgers	10.
24 Mahogany Chairs	48.	4 Grindstones	4.
36 Walnut tree "	18.	Wheat fans,	
24 Common "	4.	winnowers	4.
4 Mahogany Chests	60.	Hay Knives & forks	6.
2 " Scrutores	16.	Tanned Leather	10.
4 " Bureaux	16.	Horse Cart, Wheel-	
2 " Bookcases	20.	barrows	6.
1 " Wardrobe	10.		
6 " Square		<i>Provisions</i> total £1141.13.4	
Tables	18.	10 barrels Pork	£ 30.
6 " Small		5 " Beef	11.5
Tables	9.	4 tubs Soap	6.
5 Sealskin Trunks &		Hungbeef, hams &	
5 Common Chests	5.	bacons	30.
3 pair Handirons,		10 firkins Butter	10.10
Tongs, etc.	10.	10 hogshead Cider	20.
6 Carpets	20.	Sugar, rum, wine,	
House Linen	50.	brandy, etc.	100.
Culinaries	100.	2000 weight Cheese	25.
Laiteries	50.	2000 " Flour	15.
Plate	100.	1000 " Rye Flour	6.
China	15.	200 bushels Wheat	45.
Crockery	10.	200 " Rye	33.15
Glass	5.	300 " Indian Corn	33.15
10 pair Window curtains	20.	10 " Malt	2.5
Library (2000 vols.)	150.	400 " Oats	20.
Brass Clock	10.	100 " Buckwheat	10.
Gold watch (taken by		20 " Beans	4.10
mob in Sept.,		20 " Peas	4.10
1774)	30.	400 " Potatoes	30.
		600 " Wheat not	
<i>Farming Utensils</i> total £ 378.16		threshed	135.
6 Men Saddles	£ 12.	525 " Rye (same)	118.2.6
1 Lady Saddle	7.10	1200 " Oats	45.
1 Coach Slay, steel		60 " Barley (same)	17.12.6
sliders & harness	30.	1000 " Indian Corn	
3 Iron shod Carts	45.	(same)	112.10
1 Waggon	20.	400 " Buckwheat	
1 Bug Cart	6.	(same)	40.
4 Ox Sleds	6.	130 tons Hay (barn &	
10 Ploughs & Irons	20.	ricks)	195.
Ditching tools	5.	100 Cider Barrels	7.10
12 Ox Yokes & Irons	20.	20 " Hogsheads	6.
3 Iron Drags	8.	1 Barrel Honey	5.
16 Ox Chains	16.	Beeswax, spermaceti,	
5 pair Horse geers	10.	etc.	17.15
6 Iron Crows, 6 Levers	6.	1 Chaise with harness	75.
12 Hoes	2.5	1 Whisky with a cap	15.
12 Wood Axes	2.5	1 Common Slay iron	
		shod	7.10

³¹*Peters' Memorial, February 9, 1784 Schedule (P. R. O., A. O. 13/42, Libr. Congress).*

<i>Negroes & Live Stock</i>	total £1316.		
40 Cows	200.	1 Stallion	40.
10 yoke Oxen, 40 meat		3 Draught Mares	30.
Cattle	300.	5 Breeding Mares	100.
20 weaned Calves	15.	4 Colts	30.
100 Sheep	50.	36 Beehives	81.
40 sucking Lambs	6.	3 Negro Men & 3 Negro	
70 Swine	70.	Women	300.
2 Geldings	50.	3 Negro Children born	
1 Black Mare	44.	in the house

Not only was Samuel Peters a gracious gentleman of large land holdings, but he was also the local banker,³² and with the added prestige of his clerical position, he became an admirable object for pre-war patriot solicitude. The succession of events in Boston challenging Parliamentary authority need not be recalled at this point, except to note that as a result of the so-called tea party in Boston Harbor on December 16, 1773, a number of punitive "Intolerable Acts" were passed in March, 1774, by Parliament. Among other measures, the port of Boston was closed to trade till the tea damage was paid, but enforcement of the edict resulted in wide colonial sympathy, particularly in neighboring Connecticut. In that colony, Governor Jonathan Trumbull promptly circularized town meetings, asking contributions to a general fund to support the "poor and distressed" people of blockaded Boston. The meeting in Hebron resolved into a session of bickering, as Peters and a gentleman convert led the opposition to the proposed fund, the fiery parson proclaiming:

"As the good people of Boston had destroyed the tea, the private property of the East India Company, they ought to pay for it; and then if their port was not opened he would give them 1000 sheep and 10 fat oxen, but until they had paid for the tea, he should not willingly bestow any thing upon them."³³

Peters proceeded to accuse Governor Trumbull of being too premature in his requests, especially since Boston townspeople were free to move in and out of town. When put to a vote, the proposal was overwhelmingly defeated in Hebron, as was the case in Hartford, due to Peters' efforts. So upset was the governor that, according to Peters, he issued a proclamation to be read in every meeting house on Sunday, August 14, 1774, denouncing Peters as an enemy to the colony, a spy and correspondent of bishops. The ministerial harangues fired the people of Windham County with the ambition to storm the Hebron parsonage, while further information was volunteered that

³²*Testimony of John Peters, July 29, 1786 (P. R. O., A. O. 13/42—Libr. Congress).* The schedule of notes and bonds owed Peters in September, 1774, showed a total of £1716 currency, £1287 sterling.

³³Peters: "History of Jonathan Trumbull" (*Political Magazine*, January, 1781).

Peters regularly wrote reports to the bishops "big with reflections upon the colony." Accordingly the town committee of Bolton and three hundred neighbors set out, to arrive in Hebron at sunrise on August 15th and rouse Peters. Having announced their mission, a committee was invited inside to look at copies of letters, but nothing incriminating was found beyond a set of resolves. The men quietly left with Peters' thanks for the consideration³⁴ they had shown. But when Peters described the events in his memorial to the Loyalist Claims Commission, he told of an unruly mob, four thousand strong sent by the governor to force his signature to the covenant. The charge was also made that personal papers were carried off, while a deposition made by two visitors in Peters' home at the time affirmed that Peters was illegally terrorized and abused by hoodlums. Before the Bolton committee departed, however, they obtained Peters' written declaration³⁵ that he had not and would not write to any English personages about the political controversy.

The set of thirteen resolutions which were printed in the *New London Gazette* for September 2, 1774, and entitled the "Hebron Resolves," was allegedly drawn up by the community. Actually Peters had run them off in characteristically offensive style, yet expressing a good deal of balanced reasoning anent the tea question. But what inflamed the patriot readers was the way Peters lashed out at the Windhamites who had maligned Governor Thomas Hutchinson, and, secondly, the withering attack upon the Farmington mob, "convened for that glorious purpose of committing treason against the King." On Sunday, September 4th, the post arrived with news that Boston was on fire and General Gage's redcoats were killing old men and babies. Ardent volunteers filled the ranks as the call to arms was sounded and a detachment prepared to march on Boston. Sensing the uneasiness of his congregation as the volunteers marched by, Peters masterfully counselled his flock not to start a treasonous war³⁶ on good General Gage, with the result that Churchmen ignored the clamor.

Such action endeared Peters to the zealots in Windham County, who took it upon themselves to rush to Hebron on September 6th and challenge the parson to justify his statements. In a later version, Peters claimed that the governor sent his son along with a mob of three thousand Windhamites to force his acceptance of the Solemn League and Covenant, a denial of royal and parliamentary supremacy.

³⁴*Report of Committee, November 29, 1774 (Jonathan Trumbull MSS., V. 4, Part 1, in Conn. State Lib.); also American Archives, 4 ser. I, 716.*

³⁵*Amer. Archives, 4 Ser., I, 714.*

³⁶Peters: "Narrative of Mobbing" (*Archives of the General Convention of Protestant Episcopal Church—Manuscripts of the Rev. Samuel Peters; in New York Historical Society*).

Peters refused to comply and went out on the stoop of his house to harangue the crowd of three hundred, but oratory was not sufficient. Furthermore, the committee had been assured that only two rusty guns were in the house,³⁷ but when a gun was discharged in the excitement a search yielded guns, pistols, clubs and swords hidden away. Immediately Peters was rushed off his feet, his robes were torn and in the tussle his brothers and mother were wounded. Cheered by talk of tar and feathers and hanging, Peters was put on a horse and rushed to the meeting house three-quarters of a mile away, "naked as he was all but the breeches." Incidentally, some years later, Sylvester Gilbert of Hebron found Peters' torn surplice and sent it to the exile as a monument to mob madness.³⁸

The crowd having assembled around the horse-block in the rear of the edifice, Peters was forced to read a prepared statement³⁹ renouncing his previous inflammatory writings and asking

"the forgiveness of all whom I have offended, promising for the future as far as in me lies, to circumspect my conduct, that it shall be agreeable to the rules of Christianity."

Satisfaction having been gained, the crowd released the bedraggled Peters, who went to David Barbour's house to put on clean clothes. The excited victim gave two versions of the events in later years, crediting his release to the intervention of an armed group of forty friends who threatened to shoot⁴⁰ unless Peters was released. The second version of the mobbing given in a memorial of November 25, 1782, credited Peters' release to the suggestion that the parson was insane and so allowed to be carried home by his negroes. On the day following his public humiliation, Peters called on Governor Trumbull at Lebanon for satisfaction,⁴¹ but was advised to sign the proffered covenant if he sought tranquility. Substantially the same answer was given by the Superior Court at Hartford on September 8th, and by the twelve magistrates in New Haven. Trumbull did, however, write to the civil authorities in Hebron as well as to John Phelps, the justice of the peace in Hartford County, urging that peace and order be maintained, particularly as

"Mr. Peters shews himself greatly affected and says he is

³⁷*Report of Committee, December 6, 1774 (Amer. Archives, 4 Ser., I, 717).*

³⁸*Gilbert to Peters, October 26, 1796 (Peters Ms.).*

³⁹*Connecticut Gazette, September 16, 1774.*

⁴⁰*Peters Memorial, December 6, 1783 (P. R. O., A. O. 13/42, Libr. Congress).*

⁴¹*Peters to Auchmuty, February 25, 1775 (Peters Ms.).*—"Trumbull set on the mobs upon me. Before I applyd for protection of him, Dr. Payne told me of it 3 times with a loud voice, after they had taken me out of my house & stripped me, in these words, Governor Trumbull will not protect you, for he told us this morning to come & give it to you; September 8th the Governor owned it to me & added that he told Payne not to hurt my person or interest."

well affected to our Liberties and will do nothing to detriment the Cause thereof."⁴²

Having traveled the forty-five miles to New Haven, Peters looked up Dr. James Hillhouse, who sent him along to the Rev. Bela Hubbard, their mutual friend and the missionary of the S. P. G. in that place. Hubbard welcomed his colleague but sent his own family to neighbors as a precaution, for the local druggist, smuggler and soldier of fortune, Colonel Benedict Arnold, had brutally attacked local Sandemanian loyalists. A straggly crowd led by Arnold did put in an appearance at the parsonage about ten o'clock that particular evening, only to find the gate locked and Peters on guard with a musket. The embattled cleric had assembled some twenty loaded muskets to be used by his friends while awaiting help promised by Dr. Hillhouse, but this grandstand play and threat of violence sent the patriot heroes home. Half an hour later another group, led by Colonel Thomas Wooster, appeared, only to be dispersed in a like manner. Obviously it was best to make a quiet exit from New Haven, and this Peters did, going disguised with a servant to Branford, where friends had placed horses at his disposal. He procured a boat, crossed an arm of the sea, traveling near shore two days and two nights, making a round-about circuit of some eighty miles via Saybrook.

At midnight, Saturday, September 18th, he slipped into his ravaged house, but was seen by twelve men posted about as sentinels. He rested and then boldly appeared in his pulpit on Sunday morning to preach, despite warnings of mob violence. Peters also preached in the afternoon from the text:

"Oh that my head were waters and mine eyes a fountain of tears that I might weep day and night for the transgressions of my people."

Towards evening he said a hurried good-bye to his mother, whom he was never again to see, entrusted his children to her care, hid his sealed will in the sleeve of his last wife's wedding gown,⁴³ and with only a few shirts and five guineas departed from his home. In addition to his young daughter, Peters abandoned his infant son, William Birdseye Peters,⁴⁴ who was carefully nurtured by his grandmother until as a young boy his education was entrusted to the joint efforts of the Rev. Bela Hubbard, the Rev. Richard Mansfield and his maternal grandfather. As a lad of fourteen, William Birdseye Peters journeyed down

⁴²*Boston Evening Post*, November 7, 1774.

⁴³*Peters to Mann*, February 14, 1785 (*Conn. State Library*).

⁴⁴*William Birdseye Peters (1774-1822) to England 1788, enrolled in Trinity College, Oxford, 1792; as a child received an ensigncy in Queen's American Rangers; studied at Inner Temple; went to Ontario 1796 as barrister and deputy secretary; to Alabama 1812, where he died.*

to New York to be cared for by William Samuel Johnson, then president of Columbia College, prior to his embarkation in 1788 for England.

Upon his leaving the parsonage, Peters walked four miles to where a horse had been placed for him, jumped into the saddle and rode one hundred and ten miles to Boston, arriving late the next day. En route he was stopped at Woodstock, Oxford and Sutton by patriot patrols, who let him by when Peters represented himself as a messenger from Trumbull to John Hancock. He managed to pick up information on plans to capture General Thomas Gage's army at Boston and relayed them to the general on his arrival. According to Peters' memorial, Gage set up batteries on Boston Neck as a result of this information, saving "his own life, the lives of his army and of the Loyalists then in Boston." Once in Boston, Peters found himself lionized by councillors, commissioners and clergy, who gravely accepted his embellished stories of mistreatment⁴⁵ in Connecticut, where it was feared Anglicanism would be wiped out. Evidence that he had not been forgotten in Hebron came with a letter to Peters asserting that

"Your house is watched every night, I hear to notify a Mob from Farmington who are ready to visit you on your expected return . . ."⁴⁶

The exaggerated tales, though recommended by the Boston clergy as just and modest,⁴⁷ were, however, reported to Governor Trumbull by one Thaddeus Burr, then in Boston. As a result of Burr's letter,⁴⁸ an open letter was sent to the Boston *Evening Post* and printed on November 7, 1774, stating that religious affiliations had played no part in the Peters events. Deeply concerned lest Peters present his tale of woe in England, a "true" narrative of the events was prepared⁴⁹ by Trumbull, denying that he had been motivated by religious viewpoints. Not only was Peters assiduous in cultivating the good graces of Gage and Admiral Graves, but he renewed his acquaintance with the Rev. Mather Byles, Jr., of Christ Church; met the Rev. Henry Caner of King's Chapel, and struck up a warm friendship with the curate, the Rev. John Troutbeck. In passing it may be noted that Troutbeck advanced Peters some thirty guineas and dur-

⁴⁵Gage to Dartmouth, October 30, 1774 (Carter: "Correspondence of General Gage," I:)—"A clergyman by the name of Peters was driven here from Connecticut and gave horrible Accs. of his Treatment."

⁴⁶Tyler to Peters, October 5, 1774 (Peters Ms.).

⁴⁷Letter of October 7, 1774, in S. P. G. Journal January 19, 1775 (Libr. Congress).

⁴⁸Burr to Trumbull, October 13, 1774 (Trumbull Ms., IV, Conn. State Libr.; also Amer. Archives, 4 S., I, 714).

⁴⁹Narrative of December 26, 1774 (I. W. Stuart: "Life of Jonathan Trumbull," 158).

ing the early hostilities sheltered Peters' daughter Hannah in his residence.

During his stay in Boston the impatient Peters wrote much and managed to involve his brother clerics in popular denunciations as two letters were intercepted and published in the papers. Peters' brother Jonathan and one Newcomb had visited the parson in Boston and were to deliver letters, but shrewd patriot farmers procured the missives, which Jonathan had hidden when halted at a tavern. One letter, addressed to his mother and dated September 28th, was couched in typical disdainful language, but what made Whig hearts apprehensive was the "military" information given—

"Six regiments are now coming from England, and sundry men of war; so soon as they come, hanging work will go on, and destruction will first attend the seaport towns; the lintel sprinkled on the side posts will preserve the Faithful."⁵⁰

As his name had been mentioned in the letter, the Rev. Abraham Jarvis quickly dispatched an open letter to the *Connecticut Journal*⁵¹ disclaiming any connection with or previous knowledge of Peters' going to Boston. The second letter, dated October 1, 1774, and addressed to the Rev. Samuel Auchmuty, was more exasperating, which occasioned editorial comment⁵² when printed in the *Boston Evening Post*.

This letter to Dr. Auchmuty, written in Peters' usual intemperate style, could but foment furious sentiments against the Anglican Church generally, for the author asserted, in part:

"The Riots and Mobs that have attended me and my House, set on by the Go— of Connecticut, have compelled me to take my Abode here; and the Clergy of Connecticut must fall a sacrifice with the several Churches very soon, to the Rage of the Puritan Mobility, if the old Serpent, that Dragon is not bound. . . . Judge Auchmuty will do all that is reasonable for their neighboring charter. Necessity calls for such Friendship, as the Head is sick and the Heart faint, and Spiritual Iniquity rides in high places, the Halberts, Pistols and Swords. See the Proclamation I sent you by my nephew, on their pious Sabbath day the 4th of last Month when the Preachers and Magistrates left the Pulpits, etc.,

⁵⁰*Peters to Mary Peters, September 28, 1774 (Amer. Archives, 4 S., I, 715).*

⁵¹*Connecticut Journal, October 21, 1774.*

⁵²*Boston Evening Post, October 24, 1774: "No Proposition in Euclid admits of a more facile Solution than that Samuel Peters of Hebron, who is daubdd with the Tittle of Reverend, is the most unnatural Monster, diabolical Incendiary & detestable Parricide to his Country that ever appeared in America or disgraced Humanity; his Name, like the Lake of Sodom, will emit a disagreeable Effluvia to all succeeding generations. It is happy for his Contemporaries that his invincible Stupidity is a sufficient Antidote to his more than infernal Malignity. To evidence these Assertions, nothing more is necessary than the following Letter . . ."*

for the gun and drum and set off for Boston, cursing the King and Lord North, General Gage, the Bishops and their cursed Curates and the Church of England; and for my telling the Church-people not to take up arms, etc., it being high treason, etc. The Sons of Liberty have almost killed one of my Church, tarred and feathered two, Abused others and on the 6th Day Destroyed my Windows and rent my Cloaths, even my Gown, etc. Crying out down with the Church, the Rags of Popery, etc. Their Rebellion is obvious, Treason is common and Robbery the daily Devotion. The Lord deliver us from Anarchy . . ."

When informed that the letter had been intercepted and made public, Auchmuty wrote a blistering note to Peters, objecting to having his name "bandied about by a parcel of rascals"⁵³ and voicing his brother's angry sentiments. From the safe distance of London, the over-apologetic Peters wrote a conciliatory message, couched in extravagant style and averring that

"I blame myself more for my foolishness than the world can blame me.—my repentance is like Esau's a bitter repentance and too late. I am killed with the thots of my foolishness. I have not slept 2 hours in 24 since I have heard of the robbery; I mourn all my time with fervent prayer to God to protect my injured friends from violence of evil men and from the danger I unwillingly exposed them to . . ."⁵⁴

While his enemies roundly abused him,⁵⁵ the militant priest proposed to General Gage that he be commissioned to return to Connecticut to enlist Loyalists and perhaps lead an attack on his rebellious neighbors. Gage hastily vetoed the plan, pleading lack of authority to grant such commissions but suggesting the alternative of Peters embarking for London as a dignified "sufferer" for his loyalty. The prospect of enduring popularity in the official circles of London attracted Peters to the extent that he agreed to Gage's proposal. Advised to sail from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, a disguised Parson Peters left Boston on October 12th, walked some distance, and then caught the coach to Portsmouth. Upon his arrival he took shelter with Robert Traill, the customs collector, and was persuaded to preach on Sunday in the historic Queen's Chapel, where Peters had once hoped to preach as rector. But it soon became known that Peters had slipped out of Boston, with the result that John Hancock publicly offered £200 for the cleric's capture.

⁵³Auchmuty to Peters, October 31, 1774 (Peters Ms.).

⁵⁴Peters to Auchmuty, February 25, 1775 (New Jersey Documents on Colonial History, I Series, Vol. 10).

⁵⁵Stiles: "Literary Diary," October 27, 1774: "the infamous Paricide fled to Boston to embark for England & tell the King his story, get a Pension & perhaps a Bishoprick for his suffering in the Cause of Government as it is called."

The Boston clergy dispatched a messenger to Peters to warn him of his danger, while ambitious patriots spread out to find the parson. The Wednesday following his appearance in church, Peters met a man in a Portsmouth tavern who was seeking that "bitter enemy to the rights and liberties of America." Having posted the landlord, it was arranged that Peters be chased across Casco Bay, for a ferryman was induced to tell the stranger that he had previously ferried a mysterious person over to Piscataqua. Obviously the hunt was in vain and when four more heroes rode into town in the evening a popular search was instituted of the Governor's house, the fort and the ship "Fox." In the meantime, Peters hid in a large cave by the seashore, subsisting through the aid of friends until October 19th, when he removed to Castle William at Newcastle, eight miles from Portsmouth. For eight days he remained at the castle under Governor John Wentworth's protection, as

"Information came to Mrs. W. that insult was intended at poor Parson Peters. She very wisely sent him off, conducted by Thomas Coach to the Castle, where he has since remained quiet and this day sails London.—He is highly pleased with N. Hampshire and probably will report kindly thereof. The story of his calamities is most astonishing and in a Xtian country equally deplorable. I have advised him to be moderate on his arrival in England even toward those who have most cruelly treated him."⁵⁶

News of this state of affairs was brought to Admiral Graves in Boston, who dispatched a sixteen-gun ship to pick up Peters, which was done at night. When the time came for Peters to be transferred to the "Fox," the captain of the warship boarded the "Fox" and ordered the local Committee of Safety then aboard to quit the ship in five minutes, as "your company is not wanted here." Upon their hurried departure, Peters came aboard and Captain Zachariah Norman hoisted anchor and sailed down the river towards the sea. The discomfited patriots on shore sent some scattering musket fire after the ship, while the warship obligingly replied by firing its cannons. It was with such a send-off that "Munchausen" Peters, as he was popularly named, departed from his native New England on October 27, 1774. After a long, tiresome journey, the "Fox" landed Peters in England on December 21st and on the following day he arrived in London. Peters soon had the honor of kissing King George III's hand⁵⁷ as the first Loyalist clerical sufferer from New England.

⁵⁶Wentworth to Waldron, October 25, 1774 (Belknap Papers in Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 6 Series, Vol. 4).

⁵⁷Connecticut Gazette, May 4, 1776: "His Majesty's right arm is lame, occasioned by a sprain from flourishing his sword over the heads of his new made knights. The

For thirty years Samuel Peters remained abroad, proudly serving as liaison between his colonial brother clergy and the English hierarchy, for he was constantly in demand for information relevant to matters concerning the American churches. He took part in discussions regarding the Nova Scotia episcopate, which he unsuccessfully sought, and proffered his services when Dr. Seabury came to London seeking consecration. In 1791 Peters almost drew the appointment as Bishop of Upper Canada, while in 1794 the churches in Vermont elected him their bishop, but unfortunately Peters was unable to obtain consecration either in England or America. Finally in 1804 he returned to America, fired by the ambition to become a real estate magnate, as the so-called Carver Grant in Wisconsin had been procured by him. Congress refused to honor the dubious Indian deed of 1766 to Jonathan Carver and so Peters found his weary journey from New York out to Prairie du Chien, made in 1817, a waste of time. His last days spent in abject poverty, he died in New York on April 29, 1826.

Closely following Peter's departure in 1774, the Connecticut General Assembly notified the Anglican clergy of the open suspicion in which they were popularly held and some of the clergy published a statement⁵⁸ denying any connection with Peters' designs or activities. The small Anglican group left at Hebron courageously met for services, led by Thomas Brown as lay reader, while the Rev. John Tyler of Norwich took the parish under his care,

"though I must confess that I durst not go there for some time after you went away; so bitter was the Spirit of some People; but since, I have been three or four Sundays there every year."⁵⁹

Toward the close of hostilities, a wandering dissenting minister, Clement Sumner, managed to get into the good graces of the Hebronites and he patronizingly demanded of Peters when he intended to return.⁶⁰ It seems that Sumner expected to obtain ordination whenever an American Bishop should be available and then proceed to consolidate the scattered parish. Nothing came of these plans, however, and it was not until 1794, when the Rev. Tillotson Bronson spent some time at Hebron, that the parish had any regular supply.

Rev. Mr. Peters from Lebanon in Connecticut has obtained his Majesty's leave to pick hops at 9d. per day, a penny more than the usual price, as a reward for his past faithful services; and by this lucrative business it is supposed he will soon acquire a fortune equal to that he left behind him."

⁵⁸Connecticut Journal, October 28, 1774.

⁵⁹Tyler to Peters, January 9, 1784 (Peters Ms.).

⁶⁰Sumner to Peters, October 18, 1783 (Peters Ms.). Rev. Clement Sumner (1731-95) Yale 1758; licensed pastor 1759; at Keene, N. H., in 1761, a "Half-Way Covenant" group, built up group from 14 to 73; dismissed by town vote 1772; Congregational pastor 1773-5 at Thetford, Vt.; fled as Tory, lived as a farmer at Swansett, N. H., but fined in 1777 as a Tory; supplied Universalist Church in Swansey.

BEGINNINGS OF THE CHURCH ON THE PACIFIC COAST

By Archdeacon W. R. H. Hodgkin

THE beginnings of our Church life on the Pacific Coast stand out by themselves. It was in 1579 that the Prayer Book was first used on the Coast or, for that matter, on the Continent. Francis Fletcher was the Chaplain of Francis Drake, and when the "Captain" sought to pause in his maraudings to clean up his ship he missed the great bay that was named later for St. Francis and found a sheltered spot further north, some say at Drake's Bay; some sat at Bodega Bay. Here the Chaplain preached to the natives and here on St. John the Baptist Day he celebrated the Holy Communion while wondering natives looked on. This event is now commemorated by a large stone cross in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco. Two hundred years after this first service, the Spanish padres came to establish their chain of "the old California Missions."

The next service of which we have record was that held by the Reverend Mr. Beaver, Chaplain to the Hudson Bay Company at Vancouver and Cathlamet, in Wahkiakum County, in 1836. His Journal records 124 baptisms, 9 marriages, and 12 burials during his eighteen months residence. During the years just preceding the discovery of gold, services were held by the Reverend W. R. Leanworth, Chaplain of the Colonel J. D. Stevenson Regiment in 1847, in the "Parker House" in San Francisco, then known as Yerba Buena. However, the navy claims that the first English service was held July 25, 1847, by a navy chaplain, the Reverend Chester Newell, of the U. S. S. Independence, who was an Episcopal clergyman from the Diocese of Maryland. This service followed the raising of the flag in the neighborhood of Portsmouth Square. About the same time, between 1848 and 1851, the Reverend Mr. Fackler held services at Shampoeg and possibly at Oregon City in Oregon.

The permanent beginnings of our Church date from 1848 or 1849, when a few church people met in San Francisco and on July 8th or 22nd, organized Holy Trinity, later Trinity Parish, the Reverend Flavel S. Mines being chosen as rector. While these churchmen were getting organized, another group had also been at work and they had written to the General Board of Missions in New York asking for

a missionary. The Board appointed the Reverend Dr. J. L. VerMehr, whose sailing was delayed by smallpox, and when he arrived in August he found that Holy Trinity had organized the previous month. It may have been questionable to establish two parishes in so small a community, but Dr. VerMehr held services at the residence of Mr. Frank Ward on October 7, 1849, and on April 28, 1850, Grace Church was organized and the first services held on July 20th in the new building. The two clergymen became warm friends and the rapidly growing city soon found room for both congregations. Within a year the New York Board decided that "California was no more considered missionary ground." The rector and the missionary were mystified and there seemed little chance that a Missionary Bishop would be sent to lead the work on the Coast. The California Churchmen became restless and active; they called a convention of the "Church in California," and met in Holy Trinity Chapel, San Francisco, on Wednesday, July 24, 1850: Dr. VerMehr preached and the Reverend Flavel S. Mines was elected temporary chairman. Eight evening sessions were held and a Constitution and Canons were adopted "For the Government of the Church in California." These provided for meetings on the "First Wednesday in May of every third year, which shall always be the year of the meeting of the General Convention." On the eighth evening, on the motion of the Reverend Samuel Moorhouse, it was ordered that the Convention go into an election for a Bishop of the Diocese of California. After voting it "appeared that the Right Reverend Bishop Southgate received the concurrent vote of the Clergy and Laity and was duly elected Bishop of the Diocese of California." Bishop Southgate, who had been Bishop of the American Church in Constantinople, declined the election. Three years later various amendments to the Constitution and Canons were made and resolutions were adopted for sending delegates to the "General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America at its meeting in October next in the city of New York," and that these delegates be instructed to apply on behalf of this diocese for admission into the union with the General Convention.

These Churchmen were men of vision although, as Dr. VerMehr admitted twenty-five years later, they may have been mistaken in their action in establishing the Church in California. They provided that "Diocesan Institutions shall be a College, a Theological Seminary, a Presbyterium and a Sanctuary." For the information of those not familiar with such ancient terms, a "Presbyterium was an Asylum for disabled Clergy"; and a "Sanctuary" was a similar retreat for infirm widows in full communion with the Church, having

attained the age of sixty years. It should be noted that in the Convention of 1850, no action was taken toward union with the General Convention.

This is the situation that Bishop Kip found when he arrived in California. The General Convention met in 1853 and elected William Ingraham Kip, Rector of St. Peter's Church, Albany, New York, to be Missionary Bishop. The fact that the Church people of California had constituted themselves into a Diocese complicated the sending of a Missionary Bishop. The General Convention, however, ignored the California action and after quite a little discussion sent Bishop Kip to California. He was consecrated October 28, 1853. "It was over," he wrote, "before I had recovered from the first effects of the surprise produced by my election." It seems he never had any official notice of his election and did not in any way send an acceptance. Of Bishop Kip's journey to California by way of Panama before the building of the railroad, and of his shipwreck at San Diego, his first port in California, and of his arrival in San Francisco just in time to preach on a Sunday morning, January 29, 1854—of all this in detail Church people should read in his *"Early Days of My Episcopate,"* a most fascinating account of those early days and of his early journeys through the State. Bishop Kip found congregations organized at Trinity and Grace, San Francisco, Stockton, Marysville, and Sacramento.

In his first Convention, a resolution was adopted which expressed "its hearty approval of the action of the Standing Committee as the representative of the Diocese in promptly receiving the Right Reverend Wm. Ingraham Kip, D.D., Missionary Bishop to the Diocese of California." By the time of the next General Convention there was no question in any one's mind as to whether California was a Missionary District or a Diocese. It was a Diocese.

In rather rapid succession parishes were started, at first without distinction in status between parishes and missions. Oakland, Coloma (where gold was discovered), Grass Valley, Placerville (then known as "Hangtown"), Benicia and many others were soon established. Bishop Kip's first visit to Monterey, the old Spanish and Mexican capital of California, makes interesting reading as he describes the customs of that Spanish town. In October, 1855, he journeyed by boat to Los Angeles, stopping again at Monterey and also at Santa Barbara, which had a population of 1,200. Los Angeles had only 5,000 and he was the first clergyman of our Church to visit it. Services were held in the Methodist Church, and there was no little interest in the "peculiar dignity and solemnity of the Church Services" and also in a "Church that did not preach Nebraska or Kansas,

slavery and anti-slavery, and that was not identified with any of the isms of the day." Returning from Los Angeles, the Bishop traveled in an army ambulance to Fort Tejon on the hills between Los Angeles and the San Joaquin Valley. There were dangers of raids from Indians and from Mexican bandits resentful of the American invasion. The journey from Fort Tejon, where he held services and appointed a lay reader, was one through rough country with but little water and it was sometimes a serious question whether the mules would last out. He finally reached Fort Miller, not far from the present site of Fresno, and held services at the post where there were seventy men of the Third Artillery. Arrangements were made for Sunday services, the surgeon, Dr. Murray, being licensed as a lay reader.

The Third Triennial Convention of the Diocese was held in 1856 and the only action of importance was the final vote amending the Constitution of 1850 and expressing "adherence to the Constitution and authority of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States." It was also decided to hold annual Conventions and, in 1857, it was decided to call that one the Seventh Convention of the Diocese. Bishop Kip was called to be the Diocesan at a special Convention held in Sacramento on February 5, 1857. The letter notifying him of his election congratulated him "on your admirable and conciliatory, yet firm and gentlemanly and Christian administration of your Episcopal functions." And the Bishop expressed his appreciation of the confidence shown him as a Missionary Bishop "midst the peculiar difficulties which had surrounded him in the performance of his duties of administration and discipline." Thus the crisis was passed and the Church in California forged ahead with its own Bishop, never in its own mind having been a Missionary District, and when we remember the failure of the Missionary Board to support either Dr. VerMehrer or the Bishop, perhaps the Church is justified in its so considering itself.

In 1861 the Bishop had to take charge of Grace Church, San Francisco, and to supervise the completion of the ambitious project to build what was, till the fire of 1906, one of the most attractive church buildings in the United States. There was much talk of changing the status of the parish to that of a cathedral, and though nothing definite along that line was done, yet the Church became popularly known as "Grace Cathedral" and the Prayer Books were so marked. Years later, after the fire, the new building, a few blocks higher up the hill, became definitely Grace Cathedral with Dean and Chapter.

Of the beginnings of the various parishes, not much is known. St. John's, Stockton, was founded in 1850, in the same year as the

city. The Reverend Orlando Harriman, Jr., came West with the tide of immigration and arrived in Stockton. At his first service, on August 1st, he met with hearty response from the pioneers in that trading center, and on August 25th the parish was organized. Besides Mr. Harriman, whose son became one of the greatest railroad men in the United States, these founders were men noted in the State. Among them was Mr. Eastman, who gave an endowment to provide scholarships for men studying for the ministry.

Trinity, San Jose, was founded in 1861 by the Reverend S. Smith Etheridge, who came to California a sick man and yet carried on vigorously for a few years, leaving a growing parish behind him at his early death.

Schools were among pioneer needs and California had, of course, few in those early days. Dr. VerMehrer, of Grace Church, San Francisco, began a school at Sonoma, which flourished for a while, sometimes in Sonoma and sometimes in San Francisco. In 1865 the Reverend A. L. Brewer arrived and started the St. Matthew's Military School at San Mateo. The school was later moved to Hillsborough, only a few miles distant, and was carried on by his son. Mr. Brewer suggested the Convocation system in the Diocese. He founded the parish at San Mateo and several missions in the vicinity. In 1868, Dr. James Lloyd Breck founded St. Augustine's College and St. Mary's Hall, Benicia, which continued for a long time. Quite a party came with him as his associates.

In 1858, at the suggestion of the Bishop, a new Canon was adopted placing the Missions under the Bishop and clerical members of the Standing Committee. In 1873 this was changed considerably and provided for a Board of Missions.

In 1870 there was held in San Francisco a Delegate Meeting of the General Board of Missions and a large number of notables attended. This meeting did much to arouse the people of California to the importance of "Foreign Missions." About this time, in 1871, there was talk of dividing the Diocese, the result being the setting off of twenty-seven northern counties as the Missionary Jurisdiction of Northern California. The Reverend John Henry Ducachet Wingfield, D.D., LL.D., Rector of Trinity, San Francisco, was consecrated as its Bishop on December 2, 1874.

In the Bishop's address in 1858 he stated that the service by a lay reader was the only Protestant service in Los Angeles. In 1864 there was an appeal from the people of Los Angeles to the Missionary Committee of the Diocese for help. In response, the Reverend Elias Birdsall, of Indiana, a newcomer to California, was sent to "Los Angeles and points adjacent." He founded the parish of St. Atha-

nasius. In his first report, Mr. Birdsall wrote: "We have united the whole Protestant element in our own new parish, and every Lord's Day some increase in numbers is manifested. . . . There is a wider field here that is almost entirely neglected, and one from which the Church, if she would furnish the laborers, might reap an abundant harvest." But two years later Mr. Birdsall went to St. John's, Stockton. Later he returned to Los Angeles as Rector of St. Paul's, now the Cathedral.

The Reverend Wm. H. Hill was one of the early California leaders. He began work in 1854 in the mining camps of Grass Valley in the Sierras. In 1856 he went to Sacramento, where he kept a difficult field intact and going for fourteen years.

Mention should be made of the Reverend James S. McGowan, who in 1874 pioneered in the Salinas Valley, Monterey County, founding the first non-Roman Church on the peninsula. In the Salinas River Valley he organized groups wherever people could be gathered together. In his old age he went to the Sierras east of Madera and built another church. Another pioneer worker was the Reverend Douglas O. Kelley, who came to California as a young lawyer. Most of the work in the San Joaquin Valley, except that at Stockton, came as a result of his labors. Before entering that field, he had founded the parish at Watsonville.

In the early days of California's statehood a great many Chinese came from the neighborhood of Canton. As early as 1854 or 1855 the Reverend E. W. Syle was sent to take up work among them but soon left as he could not speak the Cantonese dialect. Several of our parishes opened Sunday Schools for the Chinese, but these seem to have been attended chiefly as means for learning English. In 1879 a candidate for orders, Walter Ching Young, who had been trained in an Eastern Seminary, came to San Francisco and was ordained deacon May 10, 1879. His work was carried on in Trinity Parish.

When we come to the beginnings of the Church in the Oregon Territory which, at one time, included the States of Oregon and Washington, we find no question about Missionary District or Diocese. The jurisdiction of Oregon (and Washington Territory) was formed by General Convention in 1853. Reference has already been made to the occasional services held prior to that time.

The Church seems to have had a real interest aroused in Oregon before it became interested in California. A missionary service in behalf of Oregon was held on March 23, 1851, at St. Bartholomew's, New York City. Three days later the committee of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society issued its instructions to the Reverend

William Richmond, "Missionary to Oregon." The Reverend J. Theodore Black comments on this letter of instruction and says that it "left little to the imagination, but did show that his sponsors were not acting without adequate information." Mr. Richmond's instructions were "to include on that river (the Columbia), the rising villages of St. Helen's and Milton, with Fort Vancouver and, on the Willamette, the towns of Portland, Milwaukie and Oregon City." He was to work that territory intensely, to take up government land for the benefit of the Church, and to secure his support partly from this land, partly from local donations, partly from Eastern sources. He was to build churches, start schools, and to write reports for the *Spirit of Missions*. The more one reads of the doings of those pioneer clergy, the more one suspects they were supermen. When Mr. Richmond arrived, he found the Reverend St. Michael Fackler already on the field and was delighted to have him for a companion. On his recommendation, Mr. Fackler was appointed a Missionary.

Services were held at many places: Portland, Oregon City, Milwaukie, Harris' Ferry, McKay's Prairie, Lafayette, Dayton and Milton, Marion and Yamhill counties. He found few Episcopalians in the Territory. The services were attended by men mostly, only a few women appearing. Mr. Fackler was also working at many other places. Mrs. Richmond started a school on their claim. The building, sixteen by sixteen, was built out of materials taken from the claim itself at a cost of two hundred dollars. This school was probably the only educational institution in the Territory.

In 1853, the Reverend James A. Woodward arrived and carried on Mr. Richmond's work after he had given it up on account of his health. About the same time, the Reverend J. McCarty, D.D., came to the Territory and held services at Portland and at Fort Vancouver. In August, 1853, a meeting was held at Oregon City and a resolution was adopted asking General Convention to send a Missionary Bishop to Oregon and recommended Dr. McCarty for that office.

However, on January 8, 1854, the Reverend Thomas Fielding Scott, Rector of Columbus, Georgia, was consecrated Missionary Bishop for Oregon and Washington Territory. His field embraced the present States of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, with parts of Montana and Wyoming thrown in. When there were no railroads, airplanes, automobiles, etc., the Church gave large assignments to its Missionary Bishops.

During the next three years little new work was undertaken, and only one new clergyman came to the district. However, in 1856, the two Sellwoods arrived and began long and faithful ministrations, the Reverend John Sellwood accomplishing much in spite of very

poor health. Bishop Scott often referred to the difficulty of securing new men from the East and once referred to "grasshopper clergy," stating that he thought men were dishonest who would accept travel expense money and quickly leave the field. The changes were so rapid that it would be idle in a short paper to list them for any part of the Coast.

In 1861 appeared the first issue of the *Oregon Churchman*. It was an organ of education and propaganda. A sample of the work expected of clergy is the story that when Bishop Scott was asked by the people of Trinity, Portland, to take charge of their services, he found the janitor work had not been done and discovered that the people expected him to do it. The result was that the Bishop started St. Stephen's, which today is the pro-Cathedral.

In 1864 Mr. Fackler was asked to take charge of the work east of the Cascades and to pioneer in a field of over 200,000 square miles, and Mr. Hyland went to Olympia to cover an area now occupied by twenty parishes.

The relation of Idaho to work in Oregon and Washington is not a new one. Bishop Scott visited Idaho only once, and in 1865 he was relieved of responsibility for it. In an address to Convocation he stated that he had two things to regret, "first that the House of Bishops did not adopt my suggestion transferring all that part of my present jurisdiction lying east of the Cascade Mountains to a new diocese; second, that they should have imposed so unwieldly and impracticable work upon any man as that assigned to Bishop Randall."

In 1867 the Bishop announced his intention of retiring. In his final address, he expressed his disappointment that there was so little missionary zeal among the clergy; he had found them too content to minister to those already in the Church.

The next Bishop was the Right Reverend Benjamin Wistar Morris, of Germantown. He became known as the "Builder." Among the new clergy who came in 1871 to help him was the Reverend Lemuel H. Wells. He had crossed the continent on one of the first trains and took a steamer from San Francisco to Portland; then a river steamer to the Cascades and a narrow-gauge railroad for three miles; then another steamer to The Dalles and another narrow-gauge railroad for six miles; then another river boat to Wallula, and then finished his journey with a stage for twenty miles to Walla Walla. At that time Walla Walla was the largest city in Washington, though there were only thirteen hundred inhabitants. Mr. Wells journeyed into three States and planted Missions in twenty-two places besides Walla Walla. In his second year of residence he started St. Paul's

day and boarding school for girls with three boarders and twenty day pupils.

In 1880 Washington was set off from Oregon and the Reverend John Adams Paddock, of Brooklyn, was consecrated Missionary Bishop for the State of Washington. In 1892 the eastern part of the State was set apart as the Missionary District of Spokane and Mr. Wells, who at that time was Rector of Trinity, Tacoma, was consecrated Missionary Bishop of the new jurisdiction in which he had formerly worked so faithfully. He remained in charge till 1915, when he retired at the age of 74. He died March 27, 1936, at Tacoma, being 94 years of age, beloved and revered by all who knew him and admired by those who have heard of him and his work.

One of the great missionaries on the Coast was the Reverend R. D. Nevius, D.D., who in 1872 came to Portland as Rector of Trinity. The next year he offered himself for pioneer work east of the mountains and lived at LaGrande, where he built six of the first eleven churches in Eastern Oregon. In 1879 he went to Eastern Washington and built twenty-five churches. He held occasional services in Spokane while the Northern Pacific was being built and Spokane had only 650 inhabitants. In his little church he also conducted a school for boys and girls, calling it the Rodney Morris School. The next year Washington was set off from Oregon. When Bishop Wells, in 1892, was returning to Spokane after his consecration, he met on the train Mr. and Mrs. Felix Brunot, of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, who became so interested in the work at Spokane that they gave the Bishop \$30,000 for a school building. This enabled him to develop a Diocesan girls' boarding school out of the former parochial school founded by Dr. Nevius. Dr. Nevius and Bishop Wells were pioneers in the real sense of the word. They opened new fields and when a field developed they moved on to still newer opportunities. They were men of the same sort as Bishop Scott, missionaries who sought not to minister only to those who came, but went out seeking the unchurched and were never content to settle down in a city parish. The large beginnings of the Church on the Coast are due to just such men.

Reference has already been made to Dr. McCarty, who was Chaplain at Fort Vancouver from 1853 to 1855 and returned the next year and continued to work there and at Olympia and Steilacoom till 1868. St. Luke's, Vancouver, was the first organized Mission in Washington, the church being dedicated by Bishop Scott on Whitsunday, 1860. Another army chaplain who helped Bishop Scott in Washington was the Reverend Daniel Kendig. In 1865 the Reverend Peter Hyland came from Oregon, where he had been for five years at

Trinity, Portland, and during the next six years he lived at Olympia and acted as general missionary for the Puget Sound District from the Columbia River to the Canadian boundary. At Olympia, St. John's Church was consecrated by Bishop Scott in 1866. The growth of the Church was not over-rapid anywhere on the Coast. The six communicants Mr. Hyland had found in 1865 grew to only forty by 1871 and the congregation to sixty regular attendants. In 1865 Mr. Hyland visited the little village of Seattle with its three hundred inhabitants and held a service in the Methodist Church on August 13th. There was only one communicant of our Church in the village at that time. However, steps were taken to organize a parish; a Sunday School was started and Mr. Burnett served as lay reader. It was not till 1878 that the Mission became a self-supporting parish, with Dr. George H. Watson as its first Rector. Trinity Parish School was opened in 1881 and Grace Hospital, another Trinity enterprise, was opened in 1887. Trinity also started the Chapel of the Good Shepherd in 1881. Dr. Watson may not have pioneered from place to place, but he pioneered many new projects in one place. He remained Trinity's Rector till his death in 1896.

In 1880 Bishop Paddock took charge of Washington. Twelve years later Washington was divided and Bishop Paddock continued for two more years in the western part of the State as Bishop of Olympia. During his Episcopate the great migration to the Northwest took place and his labors marked the foundations of the Diocese. One of his successors has referred to him as "a great leader and man of vision." In 1884 he founded the Annie Wright Seminary at Tacoma and the Reverend L. H. Wells was its first chaplain.

In writing of the Coast, one must mention Nevada, whose gold and silver established the fortunes of many families now in California and New York. In 1863 the Reverend Ozi W. Whitaker was in charge of St. John's, Gold Hill, and later of St. Paul's, Virginia City. In 1869 he was consecrated Bishop of Nevada and began the work in the new railroad town of Reno, where in 1876 he founded the Bishop's School for Girls. In 1886 Bishop Whitaker was translated to Pennsylvania. Nevada was then linked with Utah and in 1888 Bishop Leonard was Bishop of the Church in both States. From 1898 to 1907 Nevada was divided between Sacramento and Utah, and it was not till 1908 that Nevada had a Bishop of its own in the person of Bishop Robinson.

Arizona was associated with Nevada and in 1869 was under Bishop Whitaker. We may well imagine the long journeys that he would have to make whenever he wanted to go from his work around Reno or Virginia City or along the line of the railroad in Nevada to

reach any of his work in Arizona. It usually involved a trip to San Francisco and then to Los Angeles and so finally to Arizona. After he went to Pennsylvania, Arizona was linked with New Mexico and remained so till 1892, when Bishop Kendrick became the first Bishop of Arizona.

We cannot forget the Church in Utah where, in 1867, Bishop Daniel Sylvester Tuttle began his long career of fifty-six years as a Bishop of the Church. In Salt Lake City he founded St. Mark's Cathedral and St. Mark's Hospital and Rowland Hall, a school for girls.

What a comfortable life we live today in comparison with the lack of comforts the founders of the Church on the Pacific Coast enjoyed. What little areas we care for compared to their 200,000 square miles. How quickly we travel compared to their speed in the horse-and-buggy and bad-roads days. What courage they had to begin a mission with one communicant. It ought not to be difficult for us to thank God for their labors and to take courage for ours.

MEMORIES OF AN IDAHO MISSIONARY

By George Buzzelle

I. SOMETHING ABOUT THE STATE OF IDAHO

IDAHO, the "Gem State," is 83,880 square miles in area, just short of Minnesota in size but larger than New England with Maryland and Delaware added. It lies entirely on the western water-shed of the Rocky Mountains and is almost entirely drained by the Columbia River and its branches. The chief of these branches is the Snake River, which takes its rise in Yellowstone Park and flows in a great bend south and west nearly 800 miles through southern Idaho until it strikes the western border, then flowing northward 200 miles farther and forming the boundary between Idaho and Oregon and between Idaho and Washington. At Lewiston it turns abruptly to the west and leaves the State. Bordering the Snake River in a belt fifty to seventy-five miles wide are the Snake River plains, originally arid, desolate sage brush land, but now irrigated and Idaho's chief agricultural region.

Idaho was a part of the "Oregon Country" and was held jointly by Great Britain and the United States until the treaty of 1846 gave the latter sole possession south of the forty-ninth parallel, the United States' claim being based on the exploration of Lewis and Clark, the first known white men in Idaho. Until 1842, the fur traders dominated the territory in so far as the Indians would allow. In that year the first movements over the famous Oregon Trail began. Six years before (1836), the Rev. Henry Spalding and his wife, sent out by the American Board for Foreign Missions, established a school for Indians on Lapwai Creek, east of Lewiston, the first home of a white family and where the first white child in Idaho was born and reared. Father Desmet, the pioneer of Roman Catholicism in the Northwest, established in the northern region the Sacred Heart Mission among the Coeur d'Alene Indians in 1842. A Mormon colony and mission was attempted in the valley of the Lehmi River (east-central, near the Montana border) in 1855, but they were recalled by Brigham Young in 1858 because of the hostility of the Bannock and Shoshone Indians. In 1860 a Mormon agricultural settlement was effected at Franklin, just north of Idaho's southern boundary, and here was opened the first school for whites.

The discovery of gold in 1860 along a tributary of the Clearwater River precipitated the first gold rush. This was followed in 1862 by the discovery of gold in the Boise basin of southern Idaho. By 1864 there were 16,000 people in the basin and Idaho City was the metropolis. Then came discoveries in Owyhee County, where Ruby City and Silver City became the main camps.

Agriculture and live stock raising, now the most important industries, began in valleys near the mining centers. Such were the Boise, Payette and Weiser valleys. These industries soon made headway over the more spectacular but less dependable gold rushes, stimulated by the building of the Oregon Short Line across southern Idaho in 1882-84 and the development of irrigation projects upon which farming in southern Idaho depends.

The Territory of Idaho was organized in 1863, the State constitution was adopted 1889, and Idaho was admitted into the Union on July 3, 1890. The population, which numbered 14,999 in 1870, increased to 32,610 in 1880; 88,548 in 1890; 161,772 in 1900; and in 1930 numbered 445,032.

II. EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN IDAHO

In 1865 the General Convention took notice of the new western territories by setting up Colorado, Montana, Idaho and Wyoming as a separate missionary district and, on December 28th of that year, George Maxwell Randall was consecrated Bishop of an area totaling 432,747 square miles, or the equal of all New England and all the Middle and South Atlantic States—a total of sixteen States—without benefit of railroad, automobile, or airplane.

In October, 1866, the Territories of Montana, Idaho and Utah were erected by the House of Bishops into a separate missionary jurisdiction of 315,875 square miles and 150,000 inhabitants. Daniel Sylvester Tuttle was elected as first bishop of this region. Not being thirty years old, he had to wait for consecration until May 1, 1867.

At the time of Bishop Tuttle's consecration, not one clergyman of the Episcopal Church was in all the field to which he was appointed. Two had been there: Bishop Scott, who had taken charge of Oregon and Washington in 1854, had once visited Idaho, where the Rev. St. Michael Fackler had preceded him. Together they held services at Placerville and Idaho City in the Boise Basin.

Mr. Fackler had gone to Boise City from Oregon in 1864 and held the first service on Sunday, August 7th. For two years services were held in private homes and vacant cabins. Finally the people, led by three or four earnest and persistent women, determined to build a

church, raised \$2,150, erected a plain wooden building, and held the first service in it on Sunday, September 2, 1866. Mr. Fackler was at this time in the jurisdiction of Bishop Joseph C. Talbot, first Missionary Bishop of the Northwest (1860-1865), who was 1,500 miles away at Nebraska City, some two weeks by day and night stage-coach traveling.

Leaving Boise October 1, 1866, Mr. Fackler took ship from the West Coast for the "States," going by way of the Isthmus of Panama. Cholera was contracted on shipboard and, ministering to the sick as pastor and nurse, Mr. Fackler fell victim to the disease and died at Key West.

"He was a dear, faithful soul, a fine missionary and a godly pastor, and the fragrance of his memory lingered long in Idaho."¹ Bishop Tuttle always felt love and gratitude for him and his ministry. The only thing he had against him was that he served the Boise people for nothing, and this made it hard for his successors to develop self-support.

Accompanying Bishop Tuttle on his initial trip to his missionary jurisdiction was the Rev. G. D. B. Miller, who had been rector at Butternuts, New York, six miles distant from Bishop Tuttle's parish at Morris. Mr. Miller married a younger sister of Mrs. Tuttle and was one of the three clergymen who went with Bishop Tuttle into his missionary empire. Reaching Salt Lake City on July 2, 1867, he bade Bishop Tuttle good-bye and pushed on to Boise City, a town of about 1,500 people and 400 miles from Salt Lake. Mr. Miller served the Church in Boise and the surrounding territory faithfully and well for five years (1867-1872). He soon bought a "rectory" for \$600, a small frame structure of three rooms without plaster. When, later in 1867, Bishop Tuttle made his first visit to Idaho, he homesteaded a city block, the only cost being that of fencing it—\$325.88. St. Margaret's School was eventually built upon it.

Mr. Miller's first report, made in August, 1867, was: communicants, 13; Sunday School scholars, 30; burials, 2. In 1870, he was able to raise \$2,000 (mostly in the East) to enlarge his rectory and to add on to the vestry room of the church building a wing to serve as a parish day school for fifty-five scholars. In 1872 Mr. Miller left for missionary work in China and Japan, returning in 1875 to spend the rest of his active ministry with Bishop Tuttle.

"In the work which God's providence has assigned me in the Church Militant, the world will never know what a faithful and helpful fellow-soldier I have had in the Rev. G. D. B. Miller. . . . He has been all these years (29) a veritable *fidus Achates*. Never has he

¹Bishop Tuttle's *Reminiscences*, p. 146. New York, 1906.

swerved a hair's breadth from the line of loyal and loving and unselfish devotion."²

In 1882 Bishop Tuttle reported for Idaho as follows: clergymen, 3; baptized, 52; confirmed, 13; communicants, 188; Sunday School scholars, 177. By the time of his translation to Missouri in 1886, the good Bishop had held services in fifty towns in Idaho.

Upon Bishop Tuttle's transfer a new alignment of missionary districts took place. Wyoming was united with Idaho and the Rt. Rev. Ethelbert Talbot, consecrated May 27, 1887, succeeded to the Idaho field. Bishop Talbot was born October 9, 1848, in Fayette, Missouri. Ordered deacon and priest in 1873 by Bishop Robertson of Missouri, his entire ministry until his election to the episcopate was spent as rector of St. James Church, Macon City, Missouri, and as rector of the Military Academy in the same place. He shepherded the flock in Wyoming and Idaho for eleven years, being translated to Central Pennsylvania in 1898. Upon the division of the latter diocese into Harrisburg and Bethlehem in 1904, Bishop Talbot elected to become Bishop of Bethlehem until his death, February 27, 1928. He was Presiding Bishop of the Church from February 18, 1924, to January 1, 1926.

As we have seen, the increase in the population of Idaho for the first fifty years was rapid. Increasing at the rate of 117.4 per cent from 1870 to 1880, 171.5 per cent from 1880 to 1890, and 82.7 per cent from 1890 to 1900, the growth from 161,772 in 1900 to 325,594 in 1910, or 101.3 per cent, marked the end of an era. Since 1910 the growth has been much less rapid—from 325,594 in 1910 to 431,866 in 1920, or 32.6 per cent. During the decade 1920-30, Idaho has just about held its own, increasing from 431,866 in 1920 to 445,032 in 1930, or only 3 per cent.

The Church has done better than the State. From 2,526 communicants in 1920 to 2,952 in 1930 represents a gain of 12.9 per cent. The ratio of population to each communicant has also improved. In 1920 it was 170.9 to 1 and in 1930, 150.7 to 1; which means that whereas in 1920 out of every 170 people in Idaho only one was a communicant of the Episcopal Church, in 1930 one out of every 150 people was a communicant.

Today, 1936, there are 17 clergy, 11 lay readers, 38 parishes and missions, 3,305 communicants, and 4,839 baptized persons, 144 church school teachers, and 1,192 scholars.

The writer of the "Memories" which follow was born in Sheboygan County, Wisconsin, March 17, 1867. Coming under the influence of the Rev. Robert Waller Blow of Grace Church, Sheboygan, his path

²Tuttle: *Reminiscences*, p. 280.

led to Racine College, but a breakdown in health compelled him to leave before graduation. In 1888 he was invited by Bishop Talbot to do lay work in his jurisdiction and to prepare for Holy Orders. Accepting this invitation, he served as lay reader until ordered deacon in 1890 and priest in 1891. In 1893 he was transferred to Olympia. The "Memories," therefore, are to be dated between 1888 and 1893.

III. MEMORIES OF A MISSIONARY

As one journeys from the East, the first scene of our missionary labors in Idaho to be reached is Shoshone, north of the Snake River, the county seat of Lincoln County. Many things happened there to make it an unforgettable memory. The first service, and by the way, it was the first service of the Church in the town, was held in a little hall that was used for all sorts of things, and was on the main street wedged in between two saloons, one of which bore the title "Saloon and Justice of the Peace." While waiting for the congregation to gather, the door opened and a man entered who was a sight to behold. Tall, angular, and dressed in overalls and a Prince Albert of very ancient vintage, topped by a hat that had been made of silk once, he walked down the little aisle stiff as a ramrod, and when we met him, he asked us if we were to hold the service that night. We answered in the affirmative, and then he put out his great paw and said, "I am glad to see you, for I have waited twenty years for my Church to come to Shoshone." He sat through the service like a statue, and then bade us good-night. We learned that his name was Wm. Mabbitt, called by everybody "Jack-Rabbit Bill," because he had built his house at the edge of the town from the proceeds of jack-rabbit bounties. It was his custom to get lit up on great occasions, and the coming of his Church was a great occasion, so Bill was celebrating.

At the same service we noticed a man sitting in a chair right at the door, who occasionally got up and went out, reappearing a little later. We thought that some boys were making a little disturbance on the street, and that he was quieting them. After service we found that it was the saloon keeper at the left of the hall, and he had one ear on the saloon, and when any one entered he went out and served them, and then came back to the service. Combining business with religion, you might say.

The second town in the field coming from the East is Mountain Home,³ and here we built our first church. The gateway to the Rocky Bar mines, and the cattle and sheep country around Bruneau,⁴ one saw much of Western life. A cattleman came into the house

³County seat of Elmore County, north of the Snake River.

⁴In Owyhee County, south of the Snake River.

where we were staying, and going into another room said to his wife that he had found just the vest that he had always been looking for, and wanted one like it at once. We were wearing a cassock vest. This same couple invited us to spend a two weeks with them at their summer camp in the Cammas prairie country. When the time came we found a note at the postoffice asking us to take a young lady with us, as she was to visit the camp as well. Most agreeable. The mode of transportation was left to Miss S., and she chose horse-back. We secured a couple of steeds and set forth. The way was long and rough, and the weather was very warm, and soon horses and riders grew weary. Hour after hour passed with no sign of habitation and the sun sank low, and darkness came on, and still we plodded onward, resting every little way. Just as we had decided that we would have to roll up in blankets and wait for dawn, we espied a house by the way-side. Riding up we demanded supper and lodging. Two rough-looking men occupied the cabin, and said we could have supper, but that there was no place for a lady to stay. We informed them that the lady would stay, and dismounted. Supper was filling, and then the question of beds arose. They finally fixed a couch in the front room for Miss S., and gave us a blanket to roll up in on the floor. They occupied the inner room. We did not like the looks of our hosts, deciding that they were rum runners, and when they retired we rolled up in our blanket immediately in front of their door, determined that they should not pass. The next thing we knew was a kindly kick in the ribs with the announcement that breakfast was ready. Sheepish? Well, somewhat.

Nampa⁵ was for some time our headquarters, being about midway of the field on the railroad, and the gateway to the Owyhee⁶ country. Our first service in Nampa was held one Sunday afternoon in a loft over the post office. Singing at these services was always a problem. When it came time to lift our voices in praise, we asked some one to pitch the tune to the ever reliable "Rock of Ages." No one responded for some time, and then a nice-looking gentleman arose and said that he never sang anything but "Sams," so we said sing a "Sam," and he proceeded to line out a doleful version of one of the joyous songs of David. The gentleman proved to be an ex-United Presbyterian minister, out from Pittsburgh for his health. This was not our last dealing with the reverend gentleman, for we conceived the idea that stage coaching was altogether too expensive and tedious, as well as inconvenient, and we decided to buy a horse. On inquiry we learned that Mr. Stevenson had a good nag that he wanted to sell.

⁵*In Caldwell County, north of Snake River.*

⁶*Southwest corner of Idaho.*

Soon the bargain was made with one proviso, "that he did not buck." Being well assured on this point, we bought a saddle outfit and early one morning hied ourself to the stable to start on our journey to Silver City,⁷ Delamar,⁸ etc. Bill was duly saddled without protest on his part, but after mounting seemed disinclined to leave his happy home. We used a gentle persuader, and suddenly he started—but it was up rather than forward. Did he buck? Just ask the neighbors; of course it just had to happen when most of the populace was at the hotel to see the stage go out. Mine host Barnard, followed by the crowd, came running and shouting, "Stick to him, Buzzelle." We stuck. With our long legs wound around Bill's barrel, and holding desperately to the horn of the saddle for dear life, we won out. We then headed down the road towards our destination, fifty miles away. All went merrily on the beautiful morning, until we had loped along for about ten miles, when again Bill went up into the air without warning and came down stiff legged, jumping all over night-gown and surplice, prayer book and brush, seemingly determined to scatter the missionary over the landscape. The saddle-bags were made of patent-leather, and began to rip, after a while falling down by Bill's side, and not knowing anything else to do he just bucked. We finally soothed his raw nerves. But what a dilemma. Miles from nowhere, and with a frisky horse. But luggage had to be retrieved, so we finally dismounted, collected our belongings, and waited for the stage to take the bags to Silver. We then mounted, with never a jump from Bill again. Horse and missionary rode many a weary mile through heat and cold over plain and mountain, and nary another argument. Good old Bill.

The west of early days, with its sparse population, its wide-open spaces, its lack of conveniences and comforts, lent itself to tragedy, and the missionary in those times rubbed up against it all too frequently. Boarding the train one chilly wintry night at Weiser,⁹ bound for the eastern end of the field, the conductor came along at once and said that there was a woman dying back in the immigrant car. Few of our readers probably have any idea of the immigrant car of former days. Roughly constructed, with few conveniences, the passengers furnished their own bedding. On entering we found a foul atmosphere, and an unkempt crowd. On one of the bunks lay the sick woman, a little baby by her side, and another child of three sitting near. The father was haggard-looking from lack of sleep and soap and water. We learned that they were settlers on the coast of Oregon, where the woman had contracted tuberculosis, and feeling

⁷County seat of Owyhee County.

⁸West of Silver City.

⁹County seat of Washington County, across the Snake River from Oregon.

that her days were numbered, longed to get back to the old home, Baby Head, Texas. They had sold everything. Their boat was held for three days at the Columbia Bar, the woman growing steadily weaker. The man said he had spent his last dime at Huntington for milk, the baby was sick, and the child hungry. We went through the train with the story and collected a goodly sum. We asked the conductor to wire Mrs. Collins, big Irish landlady, big of heart and big of body, of the R. R. hotel at Caldwell,¹⁰ and when we arrived there near midnight willing hands transferred the travelers to the hotel, where a clean bed and a warm room awaited the invalid. Good Dr. Lee was summoned, and ministered to the needs as best he could, insisting upon taking the little girl to his home. Women in the hotel soon bathed, dressed and fed the baby, while the father sought rest from his exhaustion. We watched by the woman's side through the night and just as it began to dawn, with a wan smile and a tender look, passed through the gate of death. In the morning we canvassed the town for funds to carry the needy to their destination. In one saloon after touching the barkeep, we saw three white men and a Chinaman gambling, and made our wants known. The whites finally chipped in four bits each, but John said no. We suggested a little persuasion on the part of the whites, which was duly given, and John came across. When we hear people talk of gamblers' generosity, we have a different story to relate. The evening train bore the travelers on their way—but the mother traveled alone.

FIRST SERVICE—FIRST FUNERAL

Early in September, a good many years ago, we left our home in the Middle West to labor under the great missionary bishop, Ethelbert Talbot, Bishop of Wyoming and Idaho, and the arrival of a callow youth at the scene of his labors, especially when that scene was on the last real frontier, was an important event. We passed through Shoshone, Mt. Home, Nampa, a part of the field in which we were to serve, and on through Boise and Idaho City to Placerville,¹¹ a ghost camp whose glory had long since dwindled to a few score souls, and were met by the Rev. Fred Crook, a missionary who was to be in a measure our tutor. He insisted on our remaining in the seclusion of this mining camp for a fortnight, in order that we might grow a beard to disguise our youthfulness. In due time we went to Boise, there meeting for the first time the Bishop, and then accompanying him for a couple of days' visitation. Arriving at Payette,¹² we were cast

¹⁰County seat of Caldwell County.

¹¹North of Boise in Boise County.

¹²County seat of Payette County, across Snake River from Oregon.

adrift and thrown on our own, with instruction to hold service that Sunday night. There are no recollections of that service—we must have gotten through somehow. If we made mistakes perhaps the congregation thought it was some new ritual imported from the East, that is, if they knew what ritual meant. The night was spent with the Rossi family, most gracious hosts, at Washoe, about three miles away. Monday morning we walked over to Payette, and were immediately informed that a sheep-herder had been stabbed in a drunken row the night before in a little brewery only a block or so from the Methodist church in which we had held our service. Young as we were, and inexperienced, we conceived the idea that a minister of Christ should visit those in trouble, and aid if possible. So we sought out the place where the wounded man lay, an old abandoned store building with a small room in the rear. We were met by the doctor in charge, and when we saw the doctor we knew the man would die. On an old dirty pallet lay the victim, groaning in pain. He was a German and spoke no English, and our German was nothing to write home about. But somehow we got along. He said the Lord's Prayer in his language, and we said it in ours, and we prayed as did he. At the railroad station we found that we had been court-martialed and found guilty by the Methodist and Baptist pastors, who loudly condemned us for ministering to a dying drunkard. Somehow we seemed to see God's child, our brother, lying on the old rags, dying because of sin. And die he did that night. The next day those in charge seemed surprised that we expected to hold a service for this stranger, but they acquiesced. A rough box was made and the body placed therein without much ceremony. But the coroner's jury had to sit, and it was late in the afternoon when they brought in their verdict. We read the service, the first burial service of the Church we had ever heard, a few rough sheep men standing by. At the conclusion the box was hoisted into the bed of a lumber wagon, we were given a seat with the driver, the bearers sitting on the coffin, and drove to the burying place, a mile or so from town and on the far side of a butte. The coffin was lowered into the shallow grave, and with difficulty, because of the failing light, we read the committal. Just as the words, "Dust to dust" were said, a coyote, far off in the sage brush, moaned out a doleful dirge. And so we buried somebody's wandering boy, far from the homes and graves of his kindred—but tears dropped on the fresh earth, and prayers wended their way to the God of mercy and peace. We had done what we could.

Idaho's roads in the early days had but one characteristic common to the splendid highways found there now, they led somewhere. But it was often-times difficult to follow where they were supposed

to lead. In all our field we cannot recall a really made road, except in the mountains, where the side of the hill had to be dug into to get around. These trails through the sage brush were hub deep in dust during the summer, and deeper still in mud in the rainy season, and when frozen were rough beyond description. The railroads ran only through trains, and these often arrived at a very inconvenient hour, and were frequently late by an hour or a day. So horse and buggy were sometimes necessary to keep our appointments. We had held service in Weiser in the morning, and were due at Payette in the evening, and desiring to proceed eastward after the evening service, we sought someone to drive down with us, and bring the rig back. Across from the rooms occupied by the missionary lived a young man and his two sisters, good church people, the girls having attended Brownell Hall in Omaha before coming to the far West. We suggested that the three should go with us to Payette, and they were delighted. Arriving there in due time we were disappointed to find that our notice of services had gone astray, and it being too late to drum up a congregation, we went on a little further and visited with our good friends, the Rossis, at Washoe. On starting back to Payette, we found the night very dark and rainy. We did not have the heart to let the young people go back alone over a road that was strange to them, as all Western roads were. So much to their relief we pushed on through Payette and headed for Weiser. The railroad lay directly to our left, and on our right was a range of low hills, and in front the Weiser river, only half a mile from the town. Two or three times in the journey we were compelled to get out and find the trail for the horses. After a time we expected to see the lights of Weiser, but for some unknown reason we were a very long time in getting to our destination. Hour after hour passed, and we were puzzling our brain to find an answer to the riddle. Midnight was near and no town. We had not crossed the railroad, nor had we climbed a hill, and we certainly had not crossed the river. Of a sudden we realized what had happened. A mile or so from the river an old race track ran into the road, and the horses had taken the old road and were pounding round and round on the track, getting nowhere. As soon as we realized our predicament we peered carefully through the mirk and soon caught the outline of the hills, then steering the horses to the right, we crossed the bridge and came to our journey's end. We never breathed the story, and probably the young folk often wondered at the long time it took to travel fourteen miles on a stormy night.

Pioneer days were cruel days in the far West, bearing heavily upon the poor and weak. And the poor predominated. The mining camps had largely petered out; the "Crime of '73" had closed down

many a promising silver mine; the cattle business was already in the hands of big barons; the sheep business was being monopolized by a few men like Bob Noble; settlers were making but a precarious living along the few creeks. In the Owyhee Mountains was considerable timber left from logging operations, good for fire wood, and to these tracts came many a down and outer, with little in the way of an outfit but an axe and a blanket. With no conveniences, it was not strange that many became ill, mostly with pneumonia, a disease that spelled certain death. Riding down from Silver City one day we were met by a rancher who complained bitterly because one of the choppers had come to his house sick and penniless seeking help. We dismounted and entered to find a man lying on an old quilt on the hard floor, with a gunny sack full of straw for a pillow, his labored breathing and general appearance announcing the dread scourge. By his side sat a lad of about twelve, forlorn and hungry-looking. Another boy, but a little older, soon came in. A physician would have been of little use, and none could be had. We rode on a couple of miles to Brunzell's¹³ place and secured a bottle of whiskey for the sufferer, and some provisions for the boys, and after trying to console and hearten the lads, rode on to Nampa, leaving orders to be notified when the man died. We had been home but a few hours when the word came, and in the early morning retraced our steps the forty-five miles to Reynold's Creek. Kindly hands had built a coffin, dug a grave, and brought the body thither. In the little acre of God we laid the man to rest, with a plea to our Heavenly Father's love, and two heavy-hearted, fatherless and friendless boys turned their faces to the Wood River country from whence they had come, going back to the little home to take upon their shoulders burdens heavy to bear, with sorrowful memories of the little neglected grave on the hillside far away. Neglected and forgotten graves on many a hillside, and dotting many a valley in the great West. It took strong men to carve out a civilization on the frontier—strong men, and suffering and tears.

Winter traveling in the mountains of Idaho was anything but a joy. In the Owyhee country not so much snow fell, but the drifts were tremendous, anywhere from ten to fifty feet or more. On the other side of the valley in the Saw Tooth Range, much snow fell, but always in a gentle way, so that there was a level field except in case of a snow-slide. Fall and winter going was comparatively simple, but when the first Chinook winds came in the spring time, rotting the snow, travel was almost impossible. We had an appointment at Rocky Bar¹⁴ late in March, and were warned by the old-timers against

¹³*In Owyhee County, north of Silver City.*

¹⁴*In Elmore County, north of Mountain Home and east of Boise.*

making the trip until the snow had disappeared. Probably because of the warning we persisted. The first twenty miles was covered in a wagon. Then we took to our feet. The mail carrier was the only other adventurer, and together we started on the trail. Occasionally we would have a stretch of easy going, and then the snow would be rotted so much that we would sink to our waists. At one place we went through the snow into a creek. Soaking wet, we pushed on for two or three miles to the only house in those parts, a small store at the forks of the road, and entering we asked for food and lodging, and a place to dry our wet clothes. We were brusquely told that we might have food, but under no circumstances could we stay the night. We informed the gentleman in no uncertain terms that we were to be his guests, whether he liked it or not, and being somewhat husky in those days, and having a determined look, we stayed. We planned an early start the next morning, hoping that the night would be cold enough to form a crust on the snow, and thus make walking possible. We arose at three, donned our clothes, wet and icy cold, and started. The walking was somewhat better, and in due time we arrived at Pine Grove, and found the so-called stage just starting on its return trip to Rocky Bar. It consisted of a cow-hide hitched to a horse, and on the hide was placed mail and express, and travelers and driver took turns riding on the hide, not an easy trick to learn. The horses' hoofs were built out in some way to make them larger and keep them from cutting through. And so we came to Rocky Bar, finding snow so deep as to be on a level with the ridge poles of the cabins, the occupants thereof being compelled to cut out steps from their door to the solid path made in the middle of the road. We held services, and on Monday started our return journey, stopping for the night at Pine Grove, and thus relieving our surly friend from entertaining us again. We learned the reason for the inhospitable attitude to be the fact that the man's wife was a mail order woman and so jealous was he of his prize that he allowed no traveler to behold her. We finally landed at Mt. Home, much more experienced in mountain traveling and too wise to try it again.

"There were giants in those days." William Ingraham Kip of California, layer of foundations; Benjamin Wistar Morris, of Oregon; Ozi William Whittaker, of Nevada, known and revered by every miner who knew the Comstock lode; Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, of Utah and Idaho and Montana, who met the Mormon horde and won their respect and admiration; and greatest of all, Ethelbert Talbot, Bishop of Wyoming and Idaho. A man of fine figure and commanding personality, a strong and handsome face, with a most genial smile over strength of jaw, with just a touch of Irish or Missouri brogue, he was

the ideal man for the West as the West was then constituted. An indefatigable worker, covering those two great States thoroughly, visiting every village and town and many cross-roads every year, traveling by rail when possible, by stage coach for many a weary mile, or if needs must on the back of a cayuse. Indefatigable himself, he demanded and received that kind of service from those who worked with him. After a long day in a stage coach, lumbering over roads hub deep in alkali dust, under broiling sun, he would hop into his room to clean some of the grime off, and then out for a run around among the people who waited his coming, going from house to house with cheery greeting and a cordial invitation to service that night. And how people flocked to hear him. A strong and inspiring preacher, he seemed to sense the calibre and needs of his congregation. Service over, then hours with friends who would gather to listen to his plans and wishes, interspersed with sparkling stories and fascinating reminiscences. Early morning and off again for another similar day. It was a glorious experience to spend a week with him in the field, but a rather tired sigh of relief when he carried his dynamic personality on to the next man. One wonders what he would have said to the plea that has been made that Idaho should be dismembered because the Bishop was compelled to ride a full day in a luxurious Pullman through the corner of two States in order to get to the northern stations. How well he wrought in Wyoming we only know from hearsay, but a year or so ago we listened to a most beautiful tribute to the effectiveness of his work in that State by the present Bishop, and the records bear eloquent tribute to his energy and devotion. In Idaho he left the Church the foremost religious body in the State, and the per capita strength was the equal of any diocese or jurisdiction in America. It was a privilege to have known this man. It was an inspiration to have worked by his side.

"There were giants in those days"—but giants did not do all the work. They traveled in seven-league boots from one end of the field to the other, but there was always a weary routine to be carried out, and the unsung heroes did a great and necessary work of planting and watering, and cultivating, making sacrifices that were great, and bearing the burden and heat of the day, with no applause and few bouquets. In the history of the Church in Idaho the Rev. Frederick W. Crook has a very real place. English by birth, his kin folk emigrated to Utah among the first converts to Mormonism. He early came under the influence of Bishop Tuttle, and was accepted as a candidate for Holy Orders. Why, is a mystery. Small of stature and weak of body, stammering in speech, already laid hold of by dread tuberculosis, it would hardly seem that he was desirable ma-

terial for the work that was needed in that frontier field. He was sent to Nashotah for his theological training, and while there was a classmate of the Rev. J. W. Prosser, the first rector of St. Andrew's, but did not graduate, as the climate proved too severe, and he was forced to return to Utah. We well recall his telling us with grim humor of that trip back to the west, how as the train reached Sherman, hemoptysis set in. An old lady sitting opposite came and peered down at him and said: "Is that from the nose or from the lungs? I had a son come out here looking just like that—and he died." Sick, and lonely, and discouraged, it was almost the last straw, and he turned to the wall and called the porter to draw the curtains. It may have been British persistency, or something like it, but with one lung gone and the other not so good, he carried on. It was to the care of this man that we were commended on our arrival in the far West. Arriving at Placerville, we looked out of the stage and saw this little man, bald-headed, red-whiskered, peering at us through thick specs. He greeted us, and almost immediately informed us that the silk hat that we had triumphantly worn on the stage coach, much to Scotty's disgust, would have to go, and that we would have to remain in Placerville until we grew a beard, as these Westerners would not tolerate either silk hats or beardless boys. During these days of preparation we began to learn something of the worth of this man, working under a physical handicap that would have militated against him anywhere, and was doubly hard here in this hard and sometimes cruel West. But year after year he fulfilled his allotted task. Later on in this same Placerville he was stricken with pneumonia, and but for the devoted services of a splendid doctor who providentially had located in this mountain town some time before, he must have ended his career. Dr. Wade, bless his heart, tended Crook with loving care, taking him to his own home, and ministering to him with skill and devotion. He won the fight, and Mr. Crook went to California to recuperate. A letter from him shortly after spoke of loneliness and desire to get back to the hill he loved and the people he served. About two o'clock one morning as we were changing cars at Nampa, we saw a couple of familiar-looking handbags coming along through the gloom. The traveler had returned. We forced him back onto the train and took him with us to our rooms at Weiser, where he stayed a month under our care. Then back to his field, and the round of service and pastoral care, doing again those things that endeared him to many a settler, and no doubt today there may be found some old inhabitant who treasures the memory of this little man as something precious. Then there came a time when a new Bishop took charge "who knew not Joseph," and Mr. Crook sought work elsewhere. Still guided by

the missionary urge, he became Archdeacon of Sacramento. Small of body, but big of heart, tenderly sympathetic to human needs, with a love for his Master that was beautiful to see, he has passed to his reward, and sure we are that the Master he served on rugged mountain and burning plain has said to him, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto these ye did it unto me," "Well done, good and faithful servant . . . enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

"There were giants in those days," but somehow the giants had a hard time getting men to take the rough work of frontier missions, seminarians preferring the East or some already built work. But the sage brush towns and the mining camps must be shepherded, and so in his need Bishop Talbot imported a number of Irish Bible readers, somewhat akin to the Church Army. And were they put on a hot spot? Green as grass, and suddenly set down in the wild and woolly West, and left to paddle their own canoe. Be it said to their everlasting credit most of them made good. We boarded a train at 2 A. M. at Nampa bound for Boise, and shortly noticed a little dark man, followed by a small woman and several small children, all loaded with bags and bundles, but at that hour we were not greatly interested in our fellow travelers. The next morning, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Crook, we hied ourselves to Mrs. Agnew's boarding house for breakfast. Mrs. Agnew's was the mecca for many travelers in those days, for she was renowned for her cooking, and had two pretty daughters, Lizzie and Laura. We were scarcely seated when the door opened and in trooped the family we had seen on the train. We were introduced to Mr. and Mrs. Patrick Murphy, and the gentleman informed us that he had come to be a fellow worker. Interested of course, we plied him with questions concerning Ireland and the work which he had been doing. He told a lurid tale of religious persecutions, of church buildings damaged, and religious processions stoned. When we suggested that Orangeman and Romanist seemed about on a par in this regard, the little man hopped to his feet and with clenched fist hammered on the table and cried: "I have fought the papists since I was born, and I will fight them 'till I die." We shushed him, and informed him that he was in America now. He had not learned to turn the other cheek, but certainly knew how to re-turn the papist's cobble stone. A month or so later we again came to Boise, and, lo, the first persons we saw were Patrick and Father Van der Heyden, the fine young Roman priest at Boise, walking side by side in very jovial mood. Thus quickly did the melting pot do its work. Mr. Murphy was stationed at Moscow for some years and is now living in Washington, D. C.

Some time later the Bishop succeeded in getting five of the gradu-

ates of the General Seminary to come to Wyoming and Idaho, promising to remain five years, and not to marry in that period. If our memory serves not one of them fulfilled their promise. The Bishop should have bargained with the girls instead. Another recruit about this time was Herman Page, from Cambridge, now Bishop of Michigan. We were somewhat instrumental in bringing Page out, as he fell for our glowing account of eternal sunshine and broad prairies, and grand mountains. Then months later Herman wrote us accusing us of deep mendacity, as he said he had not seen the sun since he left Boston. Men came, and men went, but the work was pushed forward, and no part of the great State was without the mothering care of Blessed Church.

In a field covering 200 miles along the railroad, and nearly as much cross-lots by stage, with a dozen or more towns to look after, the problem of the scattered settlers was a difficult one. One day in Silver City we were approached by a woman who said her home was in Oreana,¹⁵ a little settlement, the center of a large cattle country. She requested us to make the place a visit that a couple of her children might receive the sacrament of baptism. Of course we promised, and the next month struck out from Mountain Home on old Bill, headed for Silver, with the intention of stopping at Oreana for the service. We spent the night at Grand View,¹⁶ a hotel, the iridescent dream of some Eastern promoters, with thirty rooms unoccupied and a grand view of sage brush as far as the eye could reach, and a little bit of the river as it flowed hurriedly to the sea. Up early the next morning and after breakfast we pushed on under the burning heat towards Oreana, arriving there at about 11, expecting to have the baptism and a lunch before going on to our destination. A buxom young lady met us at the door and said that her mother had not expected us so soon, and was washing, and would we stop on our way back, and she would arrange for a service in the evening. No suggestion of lunch. We watered Bill and set out again, remembering that our friend Bill Crocheron lived somewhere on Sinker Creek, perhaps ten miles away, and always certain of a good dinner there. Mile after mile, and the sun grew hotter, and Bill went slower and then we realized that we had taken the left fork of the trail instead of the right, and were going away from our dinner instead of towards it. However, we pushed on, and soon arrived at the brim of the little valley through which ran Sinker Creek. Bill realized it as soon as we did, and rushed down the steep bank of shale to where the cool water gurgled so invitingly. The horse pushed his muzzle into the

¹⁵East of Silver City and south of the Snake River.

¹⁶In Owyhee County, south bank of Snake River and east of Silver City.

stream and the rider slid off the saddle and dropped onto his stomach and drank and drank till he could hold no more. Laving his face and hands in the water until he was somewhat cooled, he lifted his head for a look around, and there in the middle of the stream, not fifty feet above, was the carcass of a beef critter. Well, it was a good drink just the same. We rested a while, tightened out belt, foreswore a dinner, and set our face towards Silver, arriving in time to give Bill a good feed of hay and oats, and stow away a fair-sized meal. *We drank coffee.*

The Oreana children must be baptized. Returning from Silver City the following Monday, we arrived in Oreana early in the afternoon, baptized the little ones, and after supper went down to the school house and prepared for the service. Time passed and no congregation. A little nettled, for a long ride awaited us after the service, we packed up, went up to the corral and saddled Bill, and started off. As we passed the house a man came running out to ask why we were not to have the service, saying that the congregation was gathered in the parlor. So we dismounted, vested, and went on with the service, and it was not until we knelt for prayers that we became aware that we were still wearing our spurs. With the exception of one cowboy who had been imbibing too much and roused himself in the middle of the sermon to ask what it was all about, the congregation was most appreciative.¹⁷ Three hours or more of lonely riding through the darkness of the plains, and then to bed at Grand View, and home in the morning.

Calls for weddings sometimes came from far away places, and a little later on we were asked to come to Oreana again to read the marriage service for a very sweet girl who had come from Michigan to teach Oreana's young ideas how to shoot, and had found time to enamor the heart of one of the leading cow men. We rode Bill to Silver, arriving there just in time for supper, and then changed to a buck-board that had been sent to take us the rest of the way to Oreana. The first few miles were tame enough as we climbed to War Eagle summit, but once there the buckaroo snapped his whip and those cayuses tore down the other side with little regard for jutting rocks, sharp turns and steep descents. We held on for dear life, hoping to get to the level safely. And we did. From there on the ponies loped along very sedately, proving to us that said cowboy was trying to make us squeal. He was evidently disappointed that the parson didn't holler. We were housed in a large western home, the partitions being just boards stood on end, and lined with cheese cloth.

¹⁷*It was the first service of the Church here, and may have been the last, as none of the later maps seem to note the place at all.*

With three babies in the house, and the noise and bustle of preparation there was not much sleep. At five we were called, at six married the couple, who left immediately for Nampa and a trip to the coast. Then cowboy and ponies and a leisurely trip back over the road we had come the night before. Then old Bill and home.

Idaho never had the rabid wildness of the Bret Harte and Wild Bill atmosphere, but in a country so sparsely settled, men were sometimes prone to become a law unto themselves, and homicidal crimes were unduly frequent. One day we were on our way to Jordan and Pleasant Valleys for services, and about an hour after we had passed through DeLamar a messenger overtook us, stating that a man named Steele had been killed, and requesting us to return in time for the funeral. Steele had formerly lived in Mt. Home, and had been accused by some of our Church people of being too intimate with the inside of our coal box. But he was poor, and chopping sage brush for fuel was something of a job. When the mines opened at DeLamar he rushed up to the mountain, and with many others was crowded into tents and shacks along the creek, this contiguity tended to promote disputes and disturbances. Steele went a little too far, and his next door neighbor came out with a shotgun and blew his head off. We pondered over these conditions and determined to take a wallop at the lawlessness and general apathy of the citizens toward crime. The service was held in the school house. The mine shut down for the occasion, and the entire populace crowded into and around the building. A bunch of Cornish miners furnished the music, and having read the burial service, we launched out in a specific denunciation of the moral laxity of the community, its disregard for law and decency, its willingness to let crime go unpunished, and called upon decent-minded people to unite and put an end to the reign of lawlessness. About the same line one hears from most law and order proponents. We said all we knew, and we said it right energetically. Then we buried the victim on the mountain side. The whistle blew, the stamps began again their incessant pounding, the saloons filled up with a noisy throng, and the only evidence of any impression made was a message from the lower town warning us to keep above the rock. We grabbed out hat and ostentatiously paraded the length of the lower town, meeting with only courteous greeting from all those we met. The murderer was brought to trial at Silver City, and William E. Borah, of Boise, a promising young lawyer recently from the East, prosecuted the case, and although the defendant was represented by a lawyer who was woozy drunk during most of the trial, succeeded in getting only a seven years sentence. East is east, and west is west, but human nature seems to be but little affected by geography.

Warm-hearted, generous-souled people mingled with those of a baser sort even as here, and we close these "Memories" with a thankful heart that God in His providence led us to that frontier land, trusting that perhaps "out of the mouths of babes and sucklings" some of His message of love was carried to hungry hearts, and that some seed was sown that in other years, tended and watered by other and wiser hands, bore fruit fit for the Master's use.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH

ADDITIONAL LETTERS OF THE REVEREND ABRAHAM BEACH:

1772-1791

By Walter Herbert Stowe

THOSE who read carefully the "Letters of the Reverend Abraham Beach, D.D.: 1768-1784," as published in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for June, 1934, must have noticed that he refers to letters by himself to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the S. P. G.) which were missing from the group therein published. The Library of Congress did not have copies of them. The writer therefore requested Sir Edward Midwinter, K. B. E., of the Archives Department of the S. P. G., to search for them. He most generously responded by sending copies of Beach's letters for December 1, 1772, July 2, 1778, October 2, 1780, March ?, 1783, and October 30, 1783. Mr. Beach wrote to the Society between May 27, 1774, and December 6, 1775, and concerning this letter Sir Edward Midwinter states under date of March 12, 1935:

"Mr. Beach's correspondence with the S. P. G. between May 27th, 1774, and December 6th, 1775, does not seem to be extant among our archives, but a letter from him dated Feb. 10th, 1775, is mentioned in one of our Journals among the proceedings of a General Meeting of the Society held on May 19th, 1775."

When Sir Edward Midwinter arrived in America for the celebration of the Sesqui-Centennial of the organization of the Diocese of New Jersey on May 1st, 1935, he brought with him three additional letters of Mr. Beach to the Society, not heretofore available, dated August 4, 1784; February 8, 1785; and October 24, 1791. All of these are printed below and the Library of Congress has photographed the copies for its files.

The letter of December 1, 1772, indicates the general prosperity of the Church in America just before the War of Independence, and a growing spirit of self-help among the people. Letters from missionaries in colonies other than New Jersey bear this out, but it was

a condition soon to be ruined by the War. This letter also portrays the regular ministrations of the Society's missionaries to Negroes as well as white people. In every letter but one, in which he reports his official acts, he reports the baptisms of Negroes and in that of November 27, 1771, he relates his encouraging experience in gathering them every Sunday evening for instruction with the result that they had become "sincere and orderly Christians."

The letter of July 2, 1778, reveals the Church's increasing difficulties in the midst of war; the Missionary's unwillingness to compromise with his oath of allegiance to the King; the necessity of closing the church as a consequence of this unwillingness; and his conscientious ministrations of visits, baptisms, marriages and burials in spite of this handicap, not only in New Brunswick but in the other missions, then destitute of ministers, within a radius of forty miles.

The letter of October 2, 1780, shows the growing concern on the part of the more spiritually-minded laity due to the cessation of public worship, the Missionary's admission of the dangers, his strait betwixt fidelity to his ordination vow and his desire to lessen the growing evils by opening the church for public worship, and his urgent pleading for counsel in his perplexity. From his letter of January 4, 1782,¹ we know that on Christmas Day, 1781, he opened the church, "read prayers and preached to a decent congregation at New Brunswick," having learned that Dr. Chandler (of Elizabethtown, but then in London) had written the Connecticut clergy that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London had recommended the omission of the collects for the King and the Royal Family if thereby they could continue public services.

At the very moment that Mr. Beach was re-opening the church for services, a letter was on the high seas from Dr. Chandler detailing the character of the ruling of the ecclesiastical authorities of the Church of England. I recently found this letter in Samuel A. Clark's "History of St. John's Church, Elizabeth Town, New Jersey," Appendix C, pp. 198-200, published by J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1857, Philadelphia. Dated December 3d, 1781, it must have reached New Brunswick after Christmas Day. This letter reveals several things: (1) Beach's desire to have unquestioned authority for doing what he did do; (2) His pastoral fidelity in caring for those in need such as Dr. Chandler's family; (3) Dr. Chandler's temperament and state of mind; and (4) the actual ruling of the Bishop of London and the Venerable Society, probably with the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury, since he was president of the S. P. G.

¹See *Historical Magazine* for June, 1934, pp. 89-92.

DR. CHANDLER'S LETTER TO MR. BEACH

My Dear Sir:

The only reason why I have denied myself the pleasure of once in a while writing to you, was an apprehension that you might be brought into trouble, should it be known or suspected that you held any correspondence with such an outcast as I am. The same reason would still restrain my pen; but my daughter Polly assures me that you would be glad to hear directly from me, on a certain point with regard to which you formerly consulted me; if therefore I do wrong in thus writing, you must flog Polly.

I need not tell you how much I approve of your conduct in shutting up your Church, as soon as you was not suffered to make use of the Liturgy in its full dimensions. Your backwardness to open it, when urged by your people, and pressed by other cogent reasons, untill you knew the mind of the Society &c., is equally commendable. The state of your case and that of the Connecticut Clergy, I presented to the Society and to the Bishop of London. Though they did not choose to give a *formal* answer in this kind of *casuistry*, yet they authorized me to assure all parties concerned that, under the present situation of affairs, the use of the Liturgy, with omitting the prayers for the King, provided others for the Congress were not substituted in their place, would not meet with their censure or disapprobation. Of this I desired Mr. Cooke² to inform you, as he tells me he did; but as you seem to be desirous of having it immediately from me, I now give it to you under my own hand and seal.

The *Canons* of the Church must for the present, give way to the CANNON of Congress; and *strict regularity* of conduct is the business of *regular* times. In the meanwhile, an honest man will not give up his *principles*; and while he is not able to fulfill the *letter* of the law, he will be careful not to counteract the *spirit* of it.

Having ventured to put pen to paper, I must not omit the opportunity of most cordially thanking you for your kind and never failing attention to my forlorn family. Of this I have most pleasing accounts from time to time; and I wish I were able to express, or otherwise to convince you, how much I feel myself obliged to you and Mrs. Beach for such exuberant goodness.

²Rev. Samuel Cooke, M.A. (Cambridge). Ordained in England and became S. P. G. Missionary in Monmouth County, N. J., about 1749, having charge of the churches at Shrewsbury, Freehold and Middletown. He went to England in 1775, and on his return in 1776 his services were largely confined to the army, occasionally officiating in Christ Church, New Brunswick, and thus assisting Mr. Beach. He was transferred to Frederickton, New Brunswick, Canada, in 1785, where on May 23, 1795, he and his son were drowned in crossing the river. The Bishop of Nova Scotia said of him, "Never was a minister of the Gospel more beloved and esteemed, or more universally lamented in his death. All the respectable people, not only of his parish, but of the neighboring country, went into deep mourning on this melancholy occasion." (Sprague's Annals, Vol. V., p. 224.)

The late blow³ in Virginia has given us a shock, but has not upset us. Though the clouds at present are rather thick about us, I am far, very far, from desponding. I think matters will take a right turn and then the event will be right. The English and Dutch, as I have it from unquestionable information, have actually and formally consented to accept of the mediation of Russia, towards an accommodation, which will be the natural consequence. After being disengaged from a Dutch war, we shall be able to bang the French and Spaniards. I am sorry that I cannot be more particular. I hate to write under such restraints. I will therefore conclude, with my best compliments to good Mrs. Beach, consoling myself with the reflection that I have brought you into no great jeopardy, by thus stealing an opportunity to assure you that I am, with the most cordial esteem and gratitude

Yours ever affectionately
T. B. Chandler.

London Decr. 3d, 1781.
Rev'd Mr. A. Beach.

The letter of March (?), 1783, contains pathetic evidence of the distress of missionaries who, like Beach, stuck to their posts. Combined with the loss of financial support from his congregation goes hand in hand the rise in the cost of living—an unfailing accompaniment of war. Undoubtedly this letter cost Mr. Beach considerable pain and only the pressing needs of his wife and five children could drive him to ask for increased compensation, to which he was richly entitled in view of his being the only missionary in New Jersey, faithfully ministering to all the congregations within his reach.

The letter of October 30, 1783, acknowledges the financial relief from the Society, his temporary appointment to Perth Amboy, and reveals the Church's gloomy condition, the general religious indifference, the high taxes, the consequent lack of support from the people, the utter dearth of candidates for the ministry, and the dubious future. But Mr. Beach continues faithful both in prayer and labor within his forty-mile circle. The "Day of Distress" was the day of testing for him and the Church, and out of it was to come the nobler conception of "a free Church in a free State." In effecting this Mr. Beach was to play no mean part, and he lived to see, (he died in 1828), the reconstituted, self-governing Church within the Anglican communion mobilizing her forces for the conquest of the frontier.

The letter of August 4th, 1784, is a revelation. It has long been known, of course, that Trinity Church, New York, was torn by factions due to the war, but it was not known hitherto that Abraham

³The surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, October 19, 1781.

Beach was the peacemaker. To have resolved the quarrels between the loyalists and patriots so satisfactorily and within so short a time must have been a feat of some proportions and speaks volumes for the confidence which both parties had in Mr. Beach. The settlement finally effected made Dr. Provoost, Rector; Benjamin Moore, first Assistant Minister; and Beach himself, second Assistant Minister. We may suppose that in addition to the feeling of gratitude on the part of the interested parties, there was a feeling that it would be well to have the peacemaker right at hand to see that the peace was kept! We must give Beach credit for magnanimity. The opportunity being what it was, it was altogether possible for him to have wormed himself into second place, if not first. He chose the better part. Virtue was rewarded to this extent, that the problem of his growing family and their education was solved. In spite of his increased duties and contemplated resignation as the Society's Missionary, he continues to look after the Society's interests, even though remonstrating with a brother priest—Frazer—on the latter's intemperance could not have been a pleasant duty. He also points out the danger to the Society's property through forced seizure if someone is not delegated with power to protect it.

In his letter of February 8th, 1785, Mr. Beach recalls his seventeen years in the Society's service and expresses his gratitude for their "many Favours" and his willingness to serve them in the future without compensation. The dangers to the property rights of those on the losing side in the war are clearly outlined in this letter. The property at Perth Amboy was in jeopardy and Beach acted vigorously. The condition of the Fort Hunter property was still uncertain.

The subject of the Vermont lands would require a volume in itself. It was not finally settled until 1928—almost a century and a half after Beach's letter. A brief summary must suffice here, but it will be enough to show the influence of the past on the present. The Honorable John Spargo, Registrar of the Diocese of Vermont and President of the Vermont Historical Society, writes as follows:⁴

"The Diocese of Vermont still derives a not inconsiderable sum annually from these lands. You must understand that from the beginning the Protestant Episcopal Church was unpopular in the New Hampshire Grants, later the State of Vermont. In some cases the 500 acres of land granted to the S. P. G. in the charters were diverted to the other churches, principally Congregationalist. There were no—or too few—local Episcopalians to protest. There were other alienations also, the Legislature passing various acts directed to the end of eliminating the S. P. G. titles or rights.

⁴*Letter of August 20, 1935, to the writer.*

"In part by litigation and in part by the local insistence of small local groups and interested individuals, the S. P. G. rights were conserved and maintained in quite a number of instances. In 1823 the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that the holding of the lands by the S. P. G. was not invalidated by political changes in the country, but the revenues must be devoted to Vermont purposes. Having established its rights to the lands in a number of places, the S. P. G. held these lands for many years in trust for the Diocese of Vermont through a Board of Land Grants in Vermont. This arrangement went on for a good many years, Bishop Hall devoting a great deal of time and energy to the development of it and to the recovery of as much as possible of the old 'Gospel Lands.' In 1928 the S. P. G. finally and formally transferred them to the Diocese of Vermont, title being vested in the Trustees of the Diocese of Vermont."

The lands eventually saved to the Church are in Bennington, Windsor, Rutland, Addison, Windham, Chittenden, Essex, Washington, Orange and Franklin Counties. Some \$3,000.00 per year in rentals come from these lands, and in addition there is what is called the "Permanent Fund" of \$11,392.00 which has accumulated from the sale of timber as distinct from the rents of the lots.

This letter foreshadows the future in that it indicates the beginning of that suspicion of Mr. Uzal Ogden's loyalty to the Church which probably was at the bottom of General Convention's refusal in 1799⁵ to confirm his election as first Bishop of New Jersey the preceding year. The refusal of confirmation was ostensibly on grounds of irregularity in Ogden's election, but the New Jersey Convention of 1799 removed that objection and still the Church at large refused to confirm him. Beach was unquestionably influential in the General Convention of 1799, and served as President of the House of Deputies in 1801. Ogden's future conduct appears to have substantiated the suspicions of his loyalty. He became involved in a serious quarrel with his congregation—Trinity Church, Newark—and the Convention of the Diocese of New Jersey dissolved the pastoral relationship. Ogden resisted, repudiated the authority of the Convention, and finally joined the Presbyterians.

Mr. Beach goes on to explain the changes so far made in the use of the Prayer Book, awaiting the action of what was to be the first General Convention of 1785 in Philadelphia. The need of the Episcopate "to perpetuate the Succession & for the Purposes of Dis-

⁵Bishop White states (*Memoirs*, 1880 edition, p. 209): "There was a more important reason at the bottom of the objection made. The truth is, that the gentleman elected was considered by his brethren generally as being more attached to the doctrines and the practices obtaining in some other churches than to those of his own."

cipline," and the separation of the Methodists from the Church under Dr. Coke⁶ with its probable success "should we be much longer neglected," are noted.

What was probably Beach's last letter to the S. P. G., that of October 24th, 1791, is fittingly enough a request for justice to one of his former colleagues in New Jersey—the Rev. William Ayres, S. P. G. Missionary at Spotswood and Freehold from 1768-1783. Ayres had been incapacitated through insanity from 1775-1780, but in the latter year he recovered and was restored to full salary in place of the annuity granted during his disability. The pathos of his case, intensified by his fear "lest he should offend against the State by corresponding with its enemies," is only relieved by the warm friendship of Beach for him, ever ready to champion the cause of a brother priest in need.

The discovery of these hitherto unknown letters, far from detracting in the slightest from the nobility of Beach's character, enhances it. It was because the Church had men like Beach and Fowler⁷ that God was able to bring her through the "dark days"—the last decade of the Eighteenth Century and the first decade of the Nineteenth Century—into the clearer light of deepened faith and renewed courage which appeared on the horizon of 1811.

Dr. Beach's closing years of service in Trinity Church, New York, were somewhat embittered by conflict between him and Hobart. This precipitated Beach's resignation in 1813 and his retirement to his farm on the Raritan River near New Brunswick. There has recently come to light among the Croes Papers in Rutgers University Library a letter from Ann S. Croes, daughter of Bishop Croes, to her brother, the Rev. John Croes, Jr. (then at Shrewsbury, N. J.), dated New Brunswick, February 15, 1819. This contains the good news that Beach and Hobart were reconciled about ten years before the death of both. The part of the letter of great moment to us reads as follows:

"You inquire if Mr. Chase⁸ is consecrated. He was, last Thursday, without, I believe much difficulty. Papa returned, with Bishop Hobart, on Saturday in the midst of the storm, and after dinner the Bp. (Hobart) hired a sleigh and payed Doct. Beach a visit. He had first by letter expressed a wish to bury all the past in oblivion, and offered to visit him, on his return, and Dr. B(each) in answer said, that as his letter breathed so conciliating a spirit, he could not but answer it, in the same conciliatory manner, and

⁶See below: note on Dr. Coke.

⁷See *Historical Magazine*, Vol. III., pp. 270-279.

⁸Philander Chase, Bishop of Ohio, consecrated February 11, 1819, in Philadelphia by Bishop White and Bishops Hobart, Kemp and Croes.

he should be pleased to see him, whenever, in his way through B(runswick) it was convenient for him to stop."

It is good to know that both of these men had such greatness of soul and that, in this regard, they both possessed the spirit of their common Lord and Master.

Here follow the letters in full.

New Brunswick. Dec: 1st. 1772.

Reverend Sir,

Your Favour of the 24 of March I received, & am very happy that my Endeavour to discharge my Duty met with Acceptance; this will always be an additional Motive for me with the greatest Cheerfulness to exert myself in the Promotion of Virtue & Religion.

The Books you were good enough to mention, are not yet come to hand, but when they do, I shall endeavour to distribute them in such a Manner as may promote the good Intentions of the Society.

My last informed you, that the people of New Brunswick had entered into a Subscription for repairing the Church and erecting a Steeple; I have now the pleasure to acquaint you that the Church is thoroughly repaired—the Steeple almost finished—& a Bell of upwards of Seven Hundred Weight hung in it. The Congregation were, by no means, able to bear so great an Expence—but have been much assisted by many well-disposed People in other places. The People of Piscataqua have likewise set on foot a Subscription for repairing their Church, (which is very much wanted,) & I hope will be accomplished next Summer.

Since my last have baptised at New Brunswick 29 Whites, & 3 Blacks; at Piscataqua 7 Whites & 3 Blacks, & have had 6 new Communicants.

In the Month of May I took the Liberty of drawing on the Society's Treasurer, in Favour of John Hites, for half a Year's Salary due at Lady Day; & in October I again drew in Favour of Mercer & Shenk, & beg the Acceptance of the Bills.

I am, Reverend Sir,

Yours, & the Society's
much obliged & obedient
humble Servant
Abraham Beach.

2nd July 1778

Reverend Sir,

Although it is impossible for me, under my present Circumstances to be very particular in the Account of my Mission, yet thus much I beg leave to affirm—that I have ever endeavoured to act a consistant and conscientious Part; never to deviate from my Duty as a Clergyman of the Church of England, even in a single Instance, however

difficult such a Line of Conduct has been. It is true one Disadvantage hath resulted from this Perseverance, & that is the Necessity of shutting, for the present, the Doors of the Church; but this Inconvenience I have endeavoured to lessen by Attention in other Respects; by visiting, baptising, & performing other Duties of my Profession, not only in my own Mission, but in the many vacant ones around the Country. Within the Year, I have baptised in my own Mission, Thirty Four. Married Six, & Buried Three. At Elisabeth Town baptised Twelve, & buried Three. At Spotswood I have baptised Eleven. And expect as soon as I can do it with safety to visit Shrewsbury & other Places in Monmouth County, having received an Invitation from some of the Inhabitants who have Children unbaptised.

It would give me great Satisfaction to receive a Letter from the Society with any Directions they may think proper to give respecting my future Conduct.

I have taken the Liberty to draw upon the Society's Treasurer for £50 Sterling, being One Year, & one Quarter's Salary due on St. John's Day last, in Favour of Samuel Kemble Esq. of New York, & beg the Acceptance of the Bills.

I am, Reverend Sir, Yours & the

Society's much obliged Humble Servant

Abraham Beach.

New Brunswick. 2nd July, 1778.

2nd Oct 1780

Reverend Sir,

In my letter to the Society, on the 24th of March last, I acquainted them, that I had made it my business, on every Application, to visit distant Missions, to baptise Children, bury the Dead & perform other Ecclesiastical Duties. The same Practice I still continue; endeavouring to answer the Society's Expectations so far at least, as the distracted State of the Country will permit.

Within the last Half Year, have baptised in my own Mission Twenty Two Whites, & Nine Blacks. At Spotswood Twenty One. At Shrewsbury Nine. At Amboy One. At Woodbridge One. And at Elisabeth Town Four.

Although the Church in this Country hath suffered much in these tempestuous Times, yet I may with Truth assure the Society, that by far the greater Part of her Members, within the Circle of my Acquaintance, remain firm & unshaken in their Principles, under all the Disadvantages of their present Situation. Many of them in different Parts of the Country, have frequently solicited me to open the Church, & to perform so much of the Service as is still permitted. They observe on this Occasion, that tho' some *Omissions* are required, no *Additions* as to the Service. That not having an Opportunity of worshipping God agreeably to their Consciences, many gradually fall into a Neglect

of the Sabbath, & the Vices that unavoidably follow such a Neglect. That their Children are growing up without a proper Sense of Religion, & are loosing an Opportunity for virtuous Instruction that can never return. That, when Wickedness in an uncommon Degree prevails in the Land, Public Worship is more essentially necessary than at other Times, to reclaim them from the Practice of it.

To these, and many other Arguments which have been made use of to me, I have always opposed; the Declaration I signed at my Ordination, to perform Divine Service according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, & no other Way; the Oaths I then took—& my own Feelings in omitting that Part of the Service required by those who now bear Sway amongst us.

These Considerations have hitherto prevented my Compliance with their Request. At the same Time, as the Society's Missionary, I would wish to be directed by their Advice in this Particular, as well as in every other Part of my Conduct; & hope they will be kind enough to favour me with it, as soon as their Convenience may admit of it, which will add one more to the many Obligations already conferred on me.

I have taken the Liberty to draw on the Society's Treasurer for One Year's Salary due at Michaelmas last, in Favour of Samuel Kemble Esq. of New York, and beg the Acceptance of the Bill.

I am, Reverend Sir,
Yours & the Society's much
obliged Humble Servant
Abraham Beach.

New Brunswick
2nd. October 1780.

March 1783

Reverend Sir,

In my Letter of the 1st. of October last, I gave the Society a State of my own, & the several other Missions in this Province, which I occasionally visit. I now beg Leave to address them on a Subject of some Delicacy, with respect to myself.

For the Sixteen Years that I have been in the Society's Service, it hath been my constant Study (as far as I was able) to answer their benevolent Intentions, by devoting the whole of my Time & Intention to my Duty, as their Missionary; not only in my *own*, but in *every Mission* which happened at any time to be vacant. And as my Wants were *few*, they were amply supplied by the Bounty of the Society, & the Subscriptions of my People. But the unhappy Disturbances, which for several Years past have prevailed in this Country, have entirely deprived me of the Assistance I formerly received from my People, at the very time I stand most in need of it. Many Families have taken

Refuge in New York, & those that remain are so reduced in their Circumstances, that they have it not in their Power, (though their Inclination is good) to contribute anyThing towards my Support. Few, if any of the Society's Missions have suffered so much as *this*, owing to its Situation on the Lines, & its having been, for so many Years, the Seat of War.

The Society will, I hope, do me the Justice to believe, that the request I am now to make, is dictated by Real Necessity. Were the Inconveniences of my present Situation confined to *myself*, I should never have so much injured my Feelings as to *reveal* them, even to a Society, of all others, the most humane & benevolent. But when I look round and see a Wife & five Children entirely depending on me for Support, & find it utterly out of my Power to answer their pressing Calls, I am reduced to partake myself to the only Resource I have remaining, an Application to the Society for such Addition to my Stipend as they may think proper, or an Allowance of the Salary formerly given to the Missionary at Amboy for doing the Duty of that Mission; this, with what I now receive from the Society will make me comfortable. I would not be understood as wishing to own favour—I consider myself devoted to the Service of the Society, & where ever that Service requires my Attendance, I am ready to go, all I ask, with regard to this World, is my daily Bread, unembarrassed with secular Affairs unbecoming my Clerical Character.

I have exerted my utmost Endeavours to struggle through the Difficulties which surround me, without troubling the Society with them; but the daily Rise of the Necessaries of Life to *Three* & some Articles to even Ten Times their Value in Time of Peace, together with the increasing Expenses of a growing Family, render this Application absolutely necessary.

As I hope my Letter of the 1st. of last October arrived safe, I shall defer my *Notitia* till Autumn, when I expect to write again. In the mean Time, I would wish the Society to know that I still continue to visit destitute Congregations in the Province, & to do my Duty in my own Mission with the pleasing Hope of being in some Degree useful to the Cause of Virtue & Religion.

I have this Day, taken the Liberty to draw on the Treasurer of the Society for Twenty Pounds Sterling due this Day for Half a Year's Salary in Favour of Davis Vanskaak Esq. of New York, & beg the Acceptance of the Bill.

I am, Reverend Sir, Yours

& the Society's most obliged, and
most Obedient Humble Servant
Abraham Beach.

New Brunswick.
? March 1783.

New Brunswick. 30th October 1783.

Reverend Sir,

Your Favour of the 8th July enclosing my appoint-

ment as temporary missionary at Amboy, have duely received. I now beg Leave through you, to return the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, my most sincere and grateful Acknowledgements for that Appointment, & for their generous Gratuity of Twenty Five Pounds.

You will be pleased to assure them that my utmost Endeavours shall not be wanting to render myself not altogether unworthy *those*, & the other Favours I am continually receiving from that venerable Body. As the Society naturally expects, & as it is my Duty to give them all the Information I can, with Respect to Religion in this Part of the World, I take the Liberty to observe that Religion is not in general esteemed here *the one Thing needful*, & in consequence is obliged to give place to Matters of infinitely less Importance.

In New England, indeed, the old Law obliging every Person to contribute some Pittance, in Proportion to his Abilities, to the Clergyman of his own Communion, still exists; but affords very little Assistance to the Clergy of our Church, by Reason of the trifling Sum it raises, & the many Applications made to them from Individuals of their Congregations made to *remit*, or at least *delay* the Payments of those Dues; & to refuse Compliance with those Applications, especially when their Parishioners are so very much burden'd with other Taxes, would render them disgustful to their People, & consequently prevent their Usefulness in the Church. But even this Provision, inadequate as it is to the Support of the Gospel, is denied in all other parts of the Continent. From New York to Georgia, both inclusive, Religion is left to itself; no legal Provision being made for it, in all that extensive Tract of Country. The Clergy thereof, of all Denominations are obliged to subsist, where they subsist at all, on the voluntary Subscriptions of their People; & how trifling & how precarious these must be, is easily conceived, when we consider the Distresses of the Inhabitants, the heavy Taxes they labour under, & *above* all, the cold Indifference with Respect to Religion, which I believe, always discovers itself amongst the greater Part of Mankind when *left to themselves*. In this Country however, Religion is at present, so much neglected, that our future Prospects concerning it are exceedingly gloomy. Very few Candidates for the Ministry appear amongst any Denomination of Christians, unless the *Methodist Teachers* may be called such; & in our own Church *not one* within the Circle of my Acquaintance, & it is pretty extensive. Whether the People of this Country will ever so far attend to their real Interest as to give Public Countenance & Support to Religion is very uncertain. In Maryland indeed, the Assembly have lately given Leave to their Clergy to bring in a Bill for that Purpose; but whether it will find its Way through the different Houses of their Legislature, is yet

unknown. However that may be, I think it very improbable that *New Jersey* will ever follow such an Example, at least in this Generation.

With Respect to the Question you ask me, "In what Manner is Duty" performed? What Omissions are Made? Whether any Additions or Changes "are required?" I beg Leave to observe, that for my own Part, ever since I reopened the Church, I have regularly used the whole of our Service, excepting the Petitions for the King, Royal Family, and the Nobility; which were absolutely forbidden to be used. I have made no Additions whatever to the Liturgy of the Church, nor are any, as yet, required. In New England the Clergy perform the Service in the same Manner that I do. In Philadelphia they introduce the Prayer used in England for the Parliament when sitting, with this alteration, instead of High Court of Parliament, & etc., they substitute the word *Congress*. And this Practice, I am informed, is adopted further to the Southward; & I presume would be pleasing to many of our Parishioners in this Quarter, though disagreeable to others. From the Account I have now given of the State of Religion in this Country, the Society will perceive that our Church here is in a very precarious and unsettled Condition. But I still trust that the Divine Founder of it will not utterly forsake us in this Day of our Distress. And to my fervant Prayers for the Prosperity of the Church, my best Endeavours are *added*; however *feeble*, they are sincere and well-meant. I have, for the Space of almost Two Years, officiated every Second Sunday at Brunswick, every *Fourth* at Piscataqua; & the other Fourth Sunday I have given to the destitute Congregations in a circle of Forty Miles around me; particularly Amboy, Shrewsbury, Burlington, Elizabeth Town, Newark, & Second River; & have frequently preached on Week Days, at *these & other* Places. But as the Society have appointed me, for the present, Missionary at Amboy, I propose to pay more particular Attention to that Mission, & prevent further Destruction to the Houses & other Property belonging to the Society.

Since my Letter of October 1st. 1782, I have baptised at Brunswick 29. At Piscataqua 8. At Burlington 25. At Shrewsbury 14. At Elizabeth Town 12. At Amboy 11. At Second River 2. At Woodbridge 1. Have married 24 Couple, & buried 17.—Before I received your Letter which gave me Leave to draw for a Gratuity of Twenty Five Pounds, I had already drawn for my last Half Year's Salary ending at Michaelmas, being Twenty Pounds, in Favour of Barnadus Lagrange Esq., & have now taken the Liberty to draw for the additional Twenty Five Pounds, in Favour of the Rev. Doctor Charles Inglis.

I am, Reverend Sir,
Yours & the Society's
obliged Humble Servant
Abraham Beach.

(Copy)

New Brunswick, 4th Augu. 1784.

Reverend Sir,

I make no Doubt but the Society must before this Time, have been acquainted with the Disturbances which have arisen in the Church at New York, in Consequence of the Party-Heats and Animosities which the late War hath so plentifully produced in this Country.

I now beg Leave, through you Sir, to inform the Society, how far these Disputes have influenced my Conduct. At a Time when that numerous and most respectable Community, was almost torn to Pieces by Faction, & threatened even with entire Extirpation,—I received from their present Vestry an Invitation to officiate for them, on a particular Sunday which they named, assuring me at the same Time, that unless I complied with their Request, there would be no Service that Day in either of the Churches. I thought it my Duty to comply. When I came to New York, as I happened to be acquainted with many Gentlemen of Influence in both Parties, I took the Liberty to recommend to them that peacable & forgiving Temper, which is absolutely necessary to the *Wellbeing*, if not to the very *Existance* of the Church.

I declared my Sentiments to them very freely & honestly, that the Peace & Harmony of the Congregation could not be restored, unless the Revd. Mr. Moore should again officiate. To effect this Point was by no means an easy Matter; for the Friends of Mr. Moore, *on the one side*, could not think of his coming into the Church in any other Character, than as Rector.—The present Vestry, *on the other*, could not be persuaded to elect even as an *assistant* a Gentleman with whom they had been engaged in a very warm & irritating Dispute. As this was an Object of great Consequence, I thought I could not better employ Two or Three Weekes, than in Endeavours to effect it. I have accordingly spent that Time lately in New York, and have now the pleasure to acquaint the Society that Passion hath so far subsided, & Prejudice worn off from both Parties, that Mr. Moore hath, within a few days, been elected Assistant Minister, & hath accepted the Appointment, to the general Satisfaction of both Sides, & that a Reconciliation has been begun, & is as nearly perfected as it is possible to suppose it can be in so short a Time, & it is expected that the Peace of the Church will shortly be completely restored.

In the course of the Transaction the Vestry of New York have given me an invitation to their Church as an Assistant Minister. As I have a young Family rising round me, *whose Education*, next to the *Prosperity of the Church* is my principal Object; & to which my present Stipend is *inadequate*—I purpose, *until the Society's pleasure shall be known*, to preach at New York that Part of the Time which I now give to vacant Congregations in Jersey; & to make up

that Deficiency, as much as possible by preaching to those vacant Congregations on Week Days; (to continue on Sundays in my own Mission of Brunswick as usual).

Had there not appeared a Prospect of my Being more usefully employed, I should by no Means, have ventured to make even this Alteration without the Society's particular Directions—which I now shall impatiently expect; should they consent to my removing to New York, & accepting the Appointment of £500 Currency, which is offered me there; the Revd. Mr. Bodown⁹ would supply my place at Brunswick.

I wish the Society to be assured, that *I so sensibly feel* the Obligations I am under to that venerable Body, that I cannot think of taking any Step of this Sort however advantageous it may appear, without their Advice & Permission.

On conversing with Mr. Frazer,¹⁰ & representing to him the fatal Consequences of his Intemperance, he assured me he had entirely overcome the Temptation he formerly had to that Vice—Time only can discover whether his Opinion is well-founded or not. He sailed last Fryday for Halifax, where he hath some Expectations of being provided for, as Chaplain to a Regiment there—whether he succeeds or not, he will return again to this Part of the country, as his Family are still here.

I think it my duty to add that I have been informed that the Commissioners for taking Possession of confiscated Estates, have discovered some Doubt respecting a Tract of valuable Land belonging to the Society, lying on the Mohawk River; should no Person on the spot have Power to claim on their Behalf, may there not arise Difficulties hereafter with regard to it?

The Society will not, I flatter myself, think this Hint impertinent in me, but will do me the Justice to believe, that it proceeds from the Desire I feel, to prevent any Injury to a Corporation I am under great Obligations to; and which I shall ever venerate and respect.

I am Reverend Sir,
Yours & the Society's
most obliged, most obedient
& very Humble Servt.
Abraham Beach.

Rev. Dr. Morice, Secy.

New York 8th Febr'y. 1785.

Reverend Sir,

Your Fav^r of the 2^d Nov^r I received by the Packet; & am now to desire you would be so kind as to present my most

⁹The Rev. John Bowden, then in New York, did not go to New Brunswick but to Norwalk, Conn.

¹⁰The Rev. William Frazer served Amwell, N. J. (north of Trenton, near the present Lambertville), Kingwood, and Muskenetcunck from 1768-82. He was stripped and otherwise persecuted by the Revolutionists of 1778 until he was too poor to move.

grateful Acknowledgments to the Society, for the many Favours I have received from them, during the Seventeen Years I had the Honor of being their Missionary; & to assure them that I shall not think my Obligations to serve them *at an End*, because I have exchanged New Brunswick for New York. It will *always* be my highest Ambition to render every Service in my Power to a Society so useful to the Cause of Christianity, & consequently, to the Happiness of Mankind. Indeed, I now feel an *additional* Pleasure in serving them, as it is in my Power to do it, without being chargeable to them.

In consequence of the Society's Directions to me, about Eighteen Months ago, I took charge of their Landed Property at Amboy; which was in a most ruinous Condition. With the Assistance of the People of the Place, I have boarded up the Church & Parsonage, & thus prevented further Injuries to them from the Weather. The House & Ferry were rented for £15 the last Year & £25 *this*. The whole of which Rents I desired the Vestry to make use of in necessary Repairs to the Wharf & Ferry House: by which Means they may become more valuable the next year, & enable them to make other Repairs. In the Course of this Business, I met with some Difficulty from one George Leslie, who pretended a Right to the Ferry, as Heir at Law to Mr. George Wollox, who was the Donor. On searching the Records, I found the Will of Mr. Wollox, which proved in the clearest Manner, the Invalidity of Leslie's Claim.

The Land I had reference to in my last, is the Farm belonging to the Society at Fort Hunter. It is, as I am informed, a good Piece of Land, & therefore engaged the Attention of the Persons appointed to take Possession of Confiscated Estates—they were however, prevented from proceeding in the Business, by some Friends to the Church of Influence in the Government. Mr. Stewart being in Canada could not afford any Assistance, or receive any Benefit from it.

The late Governor Wentworth¹¹ of New Hampshire, when he granted those Lands which now compose the State of *Vermont*, reserved in each Township, 500 Acres of Land to the Society for ever; & the same Number of Acres for a Glebe; Attempts have been made lately, to pervert these Lands to other Purposes; & some of them are already

¹¹*Benning Wentworth, royal governor of New Hampshire, assuming that the rather vague limits of his province, like those of Connecticut and Massachusetts, extended westward to a line 20 m. east of the Hudson River, proceeded to make grants of land between the Connecticut River and Lake Champlain. From 1749 to 1764 he granted 131 townships in each of which 500 acres were reserved to the S. P. G. and 500 acres additional for a glebe. This region was commonly known as the New Hampshire Grants. The governor of New York challenged the right of the New Hampshire governor to grant these lands. The matter was never settled until the erection of the State of Vermont in 1777 and New York's surrender of its claims in 1790 upon the payment to it of \$30,000. On March 4, 1791, Vermont was the first State after the original thirteen to be admitted to the Union.*

possess'd by Individuals without Authority from any Quarter. These Lands, in the Course of a few Years may be very valuable to the Society, if *properly attended to*; if *neglected*, will undoubtedly fall into other Hands. There are, indeed, in many other Parts of this Country, Lands, belonging to the Society, in the same Predicament.

I have seen Mr. Frazer but once, since his Return from Nova Scotia, he met with no Encouragement there, but remains at Amwell without doing any Duty. I once flattered myself with an Expectation of his Reformation, & am not still *without Hopes*—though a longer Time is necessary to determine the Matter. I conversed with Mr. Ogden the other Day, on the Subject of Irregularity, which you mentioned in your Letter. He acquainted me that he had frequently preached to Congregations who were unacquainted with the Service of our Church, & consequently none of them able to join in it; for the Sake of *Decency* therefore he had laid aside the *Liturgy*, & made use of *Ex-temporary* Prayers. That he had given the same Reason for his Conduct on those Occasions, in a Letter to Dr. Chandler and that he had, some time ago, sent to you the Resignation of his Salary; being sufficiently provided for at Elizabeth-Town, Newark & New York, at which Places he preaches alternately, & receives a very decent Support. I did not presume to dispute with Mr. Ogden on the Propriety of his Conduct with respect to the Liturgy, whether he was or *was not* justifiable, even under the Circumstances he mentioned; but candidly informed him of my Intention to acquaint the Society with the Circumstances of the Affair, that they may have an Opportunity of judging for themselves.

In order to answer the Questions you ask me, respecting the Alteration that hath taken place in the Service of our Church, since the Separation of the Two Countries, I am to acquaint you that, at the Convention¹² in this City of the Representatives of the Church, in October last from 8 of the States, it was the universal Opinion that no other Alteration should be made in the Liturgy, than what the late Change of Government rendered necessary—but deferred the further Consideration of the Subject 'till their Meeting at Philadelphia next October. It is very probable they will adopt the Prayer for the High Court of Parliament, (*mutatis mutandis*). Most of the Clergy throughout the Continent, make use of *that* now, & that *only*—but on my coming to this City, I found *greater* Alterations had been made *here*, & it is not prudent to alter them, 'till the Convention determine on the Matter. At present, where the King is prayed for, in the Litiny, the Name of the Governor is substituted—& the Words "*Rulers of thy People*,"

¹²Preliminary Convention of October 6, 1784. See *Historical Magazine*, Vol. IV., pp. 251-2.

in *other Places*, as in the Collect for the King in the Evening Service—& in *that* in the Communion Service.

The Church in this Country labours under very great Difficulties from the Want of an Episcopate to *perpetuate the Succession*, & for the Purpose of Discipline. Mr. Westley hath taken Advantage of our Embarrassments, & sent over a Dr. Coke¹³ (or Colne?), with the Title of *Superintendent*, with Authority *from him*, to ordain Bishops, Priests & Deacons. He hath already ordained a number of Methodist

¹³Thomas Coke (1747-1814), English divine, the first Methodist bishop, was born at Brecon, where his father was a well-to-do apothecary. He was educated at Jesus College, Oxford, taking the degree of M.A. in 1770 and that of D.C.L. in 1775. From 1772 to 1776 he was curate at South Petherton in Somerset, whence his rector dismissed him for adopting the open-air and cottage services introduced by John Wesley, with whom he had become acquainted. After serving on the London Wesleyan circuit he was in 1782 appointed president of the Conference in Ireland, a position which he frequently held in the intervals of his many voyages to America.

Coke was ordained "Superintendent" of the Methodist Societies in the New World, together with Thomas Vasey and Richard Whatcoat, in John Wesley's private room in Bristol, England, on September 2, 1784. On September 18th the three set sail for America and arrived in New York early in November, 1784. At the famous Christmas Conference of 1784 in Baltimore, the Methodist societies broke completely away from the Church of England and the colonial Episcopal Church, and became the Methodist Episcopal Church, about sixty of the whole number of eighty-one preachers being present.

Did Wesley intend that a Church, separate and independent of his authority, should be established? The late Professor J. A. Faulkner, after a careful study of all the documents (Chap. XIII, "Burning Questions in Historic Christianity," Abingdon Press, 1930), concluded that John Wesley did not so intend. Not only did Wesley not intend that a church, "separate and independent of his authority," should be established, but, according to Coke's own written statement at a later date (1791):

"I am not sure but I went further in the separation of our Church in America than Mr. Wesley, from whom I had received my commission, did intend. He did indeed solemnly invest me, as far as he had a right to do, with Episcopal authority, but did not intend, I think, that an entire separation should take place. He, being pressed by our friends on this side of the water for ministers to administer the sacraments to them (there being very few of the clergy of the Church of England then in the States), went further, I am sure, than he would have gone, if he had foreseen some events which followed. And this I am certain of—that he is now sorry for the separation."

In Bishop White's "Memoirs" (DeCosta Edition, 1880, pp. 195-200, and Appendix, pp. 408-413), Dr. Coke's approaches to Bishops White, Madison and Seabury for a reunion of the Methodists with the Episcopal Church are detailed. In a long letter to Bishop White (from which the above passage is quoted), dated Richmond, Virginia, April 24, 1791, Dr. Coke outlined his plan, which was in substance as follows:

"That all the Methodist ministers, at the time in connection, were to receive Episcopal ordination, as also those who should come forwards in the future within the connection; such ministers to remain under the government of the then superintendents and their successors."

Dr. Coke stated in his letter that the Methodists then (1791) numbered above 60,000 adults and "about 250 travelling ministers and preachers; besides a great number of local preachers, very far exceeding the number of travelling preachers." The adherents, however, he estimated to number 300,000 adults and, counting children, would total 750,000, one-fifth of whom were blacks.

In his letter to Bishop Seabury, Coke had some additional suggestions:

"That although the Methodists would have confidence in any engagements which should be made by the present bishops (of the Episcopal Church in America), yet there might in the future be some, who, on the arrival of their inferior grades of preachers to a competency to the ministry, would not admit them

Teachers, who have formed a separate Communion in *this City, & in other Places*. His Design, evidently, is to *draw off* the Members of our Church in her present helpless Condition; he hath not hitherto, been *very successful*; but should we be much longer neglected, his Purposes, in all human Probability will be answered.

I have taken the Liberty to draw on the Society's Treasurer for Ten Pounds Sterling, which compleats my Salary up to Christmas last, in Fav^r of Mr. James Rivington,

as proposed in the letter—that to guard against the danger of this, there would be use in consecrating Mr. Asbury to the Episcopacy—and that although there would not be the same reasons in his (Dr. Coke's) case, because he was a resident of England, yet, as he should probably, while he lived, occasionally visit America, it would not be fit, considering he was Mr. Asbury's senior, that he should appear in a lower character than this gentleman." (White, p. 198.)

Bishop Madison had very much at heart the desire of effecting a reunion with the Methodists. "He was so sanguine as to believe, that by an accommodation to them in a few instances, they would be induced to give up their peculiar discipline, and conform to the leading parts of the doctrine, the worship, and the discipline of the Episcopal Church. It is to be noted, that he had no idea of comprehending them, on the condition of their continuing embodied, as at present."

Bishop White was skeptical of the willingness of the Methodists to accept Bishop Madison's ideas, but "approving the motive," he agreed to the resolution passed by the House of Bishops (consisting of Seabury, White, Provost and Madison) in the General Convention of 1792. As sent to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, the resolution read:

"The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, ever bearing in mind the sacred obligation which attends all the followers of Christ, to avoid divisions among themselves, and anxious to promote that union for which our Lord and Saviour so earnestly prayed, do hereby declare to the Christian world, that, uninfluenced by any other considerations than those of duty as Christians, and an earnest desire for the prosperity of pure Christianity, and the furtherance of our holy religion, they are ready and willing to unite and form one body with any religious society which shall be influenced by the same Catholic spirit. And in order that this Christian end may be the more easily effected, they further declare, that all things in which the great essentials of Christianity or the characteristic principles of their Church are not concerned, they are willing to leave to future discussion; being ready to alter or modify those points which, in the opinion of the Protestant Episcopal Church, are subject to human alteration. And it is hereby recommended to the state conventions, to adopt such measures or propose such conferences with Christians of other denominations, as to themselves may be thought most prudent, and report accordingly to the ensuing General Convention."

And how did the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies receive this communication?

"On the reading of this in the House of Deputies, they were astonished, and considered it altogether preposterous; tending to produce distrust of the stability of the system of the Episcopal Church, without the least prospect of embracing any other religious body. The members generally mentioned, as a matter of indulgence, that they would permit the withdrawing of the paper; no notice to be taken of it . . . the bishops silently withdrew it, agreeably to leave given." (White, p. 196.)

Five years before this, in 1787, the Methodist Conference changed Dr. Coke's title to "bishop," a nomenclature which he tried in vain to introduce into the English conference, of which he was president in 1787 and 1805. He died on a missionary voyage to Ceylon, May 3, 1814.

& wish the Acceptance of the Bill. I am, with every Sentiment of Affection, Esteem & Regard, Rev^d Sir Yours, & the Society's most obliged & obed^t Hum^l Serv^t

Abraham Beach.

New York 24th Oct^r 1791.

Reverend Sir,

In consequence of an Application I made through you to the Society, in a Letter dated the 25th Apr^l 1789, in behalf of the Rev^d Mr. Dibble¹⁴ of Stamford & the Rev^d Mr. Ayers¹⁵ of Spotswood, (Two of the Society's former Missionaries;) I soon after received a Letter from you, referring the former to his Majesty's Commiss^r for American Claims; & granting the latter a Gratuity of Ten Pounds Sterl⁶

Though Mr. Ayers & his Family were almost perishing with Hunger, Cold & Nakedness, he could not be prevailed on, for the Space of nearly Two Years, to avail himself of this Bounty of the Society. Whenever I spoke to him on the Subject, he discovered Remains of Insanity, & seem'd distress'd lest he should offend against the State by corresponding with its Enemies.

Compelled by dire Necessity, at length, however, he ventured to this City, sometime in the Month of May last; & with Difficulty I then prevailed on him to draw on the Society's Treasurer for the Ten Pounds, which had been so long *granted*, without being applied for—& he accordingly did so in fav^r of Mess^{rs} Moses Rogers & Co Merch^{ts} here. The Money which Mr. Ayers received for the Bill, with some Additions made to it by a few charitable Persons, enabled him to return to his Family with some of the *Necessaries of Life*, & a *glad Heart*; relying for future Support, on that Good Providence which had sustained him in the past.

After this detail, you will easily conceive how much I was hurt, as well as surprised, at receiving Information this Morning, from Mr. Rogers, that Mr. Ayers's Bill was returned to him protested, with all the Formalities of that Business. It is impossible this could have happened but by Mistake, I therefore take the earliest Opportunity to give you *Information* of it, not in the least doubting but you will have it rectified.

I am, Rev^d Sir Yours & the Society's obliged Hum^l Serv^t
Abrⁿ Beach.

¹⁴The Rev. Ebenezer Dibblee, M.A. from Yale and D.D. from Columbia, had been a Congregational minister. He was ordained in England in 1748 and served the colonial Church in Norwalk and Stamford, Conn., 1747-1783.

¹⁵The Rev. William Ayres, S. P. G. Missionary at Spotswood and Freehold, N. J., 1768-1783. Incapacitated through insanity 1775-1780. Recovered in latter year and restored to full salary in place of annuity granted during his affliction.

BOOK REVIEWS

Calvary Church Yesterday and Today. A Centennial History by Samuel Shoemaker, Rector of Calvary Church. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, London and Edinburgh. Pp. 324. 1936.

One by one the larger churches in the City of New York are publishing their Parish Histories. Last year it was Saint Bartholomew's; now Calvary marks its centennial year with a volume which is worthy to stand in the front rank. It is appropriately dedicated to "the world-wide family of Calvary Church." This is the story of a parish which for ninety years has resisted the impelling urge to move uptown in the wake of its more privileged parishioners. It began its work when the population of New York was but two hundred and seventy thousand and in a section almost destitute of churches of any kind. Its beginnings were as small as the grain of mustard seed; actually it was the outcome of a Sunday School conducted by the students of the General Theological Seminary under the direction of Professor John McVickar, of Columbia University. The parish was incorporated September 19, 1836. Beginning as a free church, that policy was abandoned under straitened financial circumstances. The one hundred years as here recorded have been years of light and shade. At times the altar fire died down, but never went out. The earlier years are the record of heroic endeavor and steadfast faith on the part of the few.

Later Calvary became one of the leading parishes of the city. It has numbered among its rectors such notable men as Francis Lister Hawks, a golden-mouthed orator, whose Southern sympathies during the Civil War brought to an abrupt end one of the most brilliant ministries in the annals of the Church in New York. He was followed by Arthur Cleveland Coxe, who became Bishop of Western New York, and who is aptly described in this volume as "scholar, singer and seer." Then came Edward A. Washburn, to whom full justice has as yet never been given. He was not only a great preacher and a born theologian, but also a pioneer Broad Churchman of the school of Brooks and Greer. Mr. Shoemaker might well have given

a little more space to Washburn's large influence in the development of liberal thought in the Church during that period. Henry Yates Satterlee lacked Washburn's brilliance, but he was a great pastor under whose ministry Calvary blossomed as the rose. On his election as Bishop of Washington the parish turned to Philadelphia and chose the Rev. Dr. J. Lewis Parks as rector. As a preacher he was greatly gifted: incisive, witty, a true Christian gentleman. It fell to his lot to witness great changes in the character of the population with a consequent falling of financial resources. The Chapel was perforce sold, it having served its original purpose and was no longer needed. His successor was the Rev. Theodore Sedgwick, who revived the pastoral ministry of Dr. Satterlee and with rare unselfishness sacrificed himself for the welfare of the parish.

The two final chapters of this volume cover the period of the rectorship of the author of this Parish History and are written with admirable restraint. They enshrine a unique story, for Calvary Church for the past ten years has been inseparably associated in the public mind with what is called in these pages "The Oxford Group." That this would be inevitable must have been known to the vestry when the call to the rectorship was extended to Mr. Shoemaker. But they made the venture and old Calvary has taken on a new lease of life. The last chapter on "The Church and the World" is a thrilling story of the development of the Oxford Group Movement not only in the parish, but in the larger world. It does not fall within the province of this reviewer to pass judgment on this Movement. His work is confined to an estimate of how well, or otherwise, the story is told. When the time comes for a History of the Oxford Group Movement to be written much valuable material will be found enshrined in this Centennial History.

The Appendix contains a list of Memorials, Clergy, early pew-holders, Wardens and Vestrymen, and is followed by an excellent index. The volume is beautifully printed and the illustrations are of real historical value.

—E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

Men of Zeal: The Romance of American Methodist Beginnings. By William Warren Sweet. The Abingdon Press. P. 208.

Professor Sweet is an acknowledged authority on the early days of Methodism in the United States of America, though one might be inclined to challenge the statement in the jacket that he "is the only scholar devoting his time exclusively to the study of American Church History." The six chapters comprising this book were delivered in connection with the "Drew Lectureship in Biography."

To students of the history of the Episcopal Church it is interesting to note that

the first chapter deals with Devereux Jarratt, minister of Bath Parish, Dinwiddie Co., Virginia, who is justly described as "Forerunner." Dr. Sweet rightly points out that early Methodism here made its greatest strides in Virginia and Maryland, where the way had been prepared by other religious influences. Among those influences the author sets the Evangelical clergy of the then Established Church, "chief among whom was Devereux Jarratt." For the larger part of his ministry Jarratt encouraged the work of the itinerant Methodist preachers and there is an interesting letter which he wrote John Wesley appealing for more "helpers."

Other lectures deal in interesting fashion with some of the pioneer Methodist preachers, including Pilmore and Vasey, who later were ordained in the Episcopal Church. New light is shed on the famous Baltimore Conference, at which the Methodist Episcopal Church in America was created. In his treatment of the Episcopal Church, Dr. Sweet is eminently fair. It may be noted that on page 107 the year of Seabury's consecration is given as 1785; it should read 1784. On page 180 it is said that "Bishop Provoost, of New York, considered the affairs of the church so hopeless that he resigned his bishopric." This is surely an error. His letter, which is on record, gave as the reason for resignation "ill health, and some melancholy occurrences in my family and an ardent wish to retire from all public employment." Moreover, Provoost never resigned his "bishopric." What he did resign was his *jurisdiction* as Bishop of New York. The Bibliography is welcome, but where is the Index?

—E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

A Bishop Beloved: Joseph Horsfall Johnson, 1847-1928. By W. Bertrand Stevens. Morehouse Publishing Co. 1936.

In five brief chapters Bishop Johnson of Los Angeles is described as the Man, the Bishop, the Friend, the Educator, and the Citizen. In all these capacities he enriched life and was greatly beloved. For eight years Bishop Stevens served as his coadjutor, and out of that close association has written a beautiful tribute to the memory of a good man and true.

Old Chelsea and Saint Peter's Church: The Centennial History of a New York City Parish. By Samuel White Patterson, A.M., Ph.D. The Friebele Press. pp. 147.

This is an extremely good Parish History from every point of view. It is full of literary charm and allusion and a pleasure to handle. The author has had a life-long association with the parish and writes out of the fulness of knowledge. Old Chelsea was a village on the far outskirts of New York when St. Peter's was founded in 1831 and was a place of resort in the summer months. The church has the unique advantage of close association with the General Theological Seminary. Church services were begun in the east building of the Seminary in 1827 by Professors Bird Wilson and Samuel H. Turner, and the parish was incorporated four years later. Its lay patron, saint and benefactor was Clement C. Moore, Professor of Hebrew in the Seminary, and the author of "The Night Before Christmas." The story of parish life is gradually unfolded and coupled with it the development of Old Chelsea. The book is valuable alike from the point of view of church history and that of a small community.

—E. C. C.

